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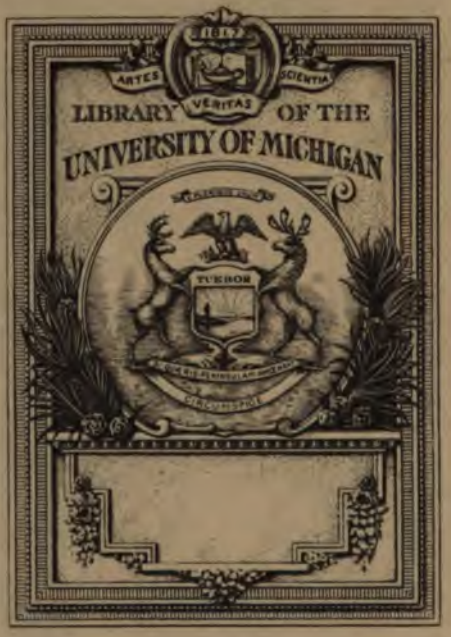
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DE LA

VIE DE SAINT THÉODOSE PAR THÉODORE

CONSERVÉE DANS LE BAROCCIANUS 183

PAR

E. ROLLAND

DOCTEUR EN PHILOSOPHIE ET LETTRES

GAND

LIBRAIRIE H. ENGELCKE

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CHEZ (ENGELCKE)

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UNE COPIE

DE LA

VIE DE SAINT THÉODOSE PAR THÉODORE

CONSERVÉE DANS LE BAROCCIANUS 185

I

Je n'ai pas à faire valoir ici, après MM. Usener [1] et Krumbacher [2], toute l'importance de la vie de Saint Théodose par Théodore, évêque de Petrae. Ce panégyrique, prononcé sans doute le premier jour anniversaire de la mort du saint († 529 [3]), est en même temps que la source la plus précieuse pour l'étude de la vie de ce cénobite, une œuvre littéraire caractéristique de

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1) *Der heilige Theodosios*, von H. Usener. Leipzig, Teubner, 1890, p. VIII-XI.

2) *Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios*, von K. Krumbacher, SITZUNGSBERICHTE DER PHILOS.-PHILOL. UND HISTOR. CLASSE DER K. BAYER. AKAD. D. WISS., Munich, 1892, p. 223.

3) *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*, von K. Krumbacher, 1897, 2me édition, p. 186.

l'époque qui l'a vu produire et de l'école de Gaza, où Théodore, son auteur, s'était formé.

Il faut l'espérer, grâce aux nombreux et excellents manuscrits que l'on a signalés ou utilisés depuis l'*editio princeps* de M. Usener [1], la vie de Saint Théodose nous sera présentée bientôt dans une édition mieux documentée. Afin que cette réédition ait plus de chance encore d'être en progrès, je ferai connaître ici les leçons, souvent très intéressantes, d'un manuscrit d'Oxford (*Baroccianus* 183) dont M. Krumbacher déjà avait signalé l'importance [2].

Ce *Baroccianus* forme un volume (30 centimètres × 21) de 271 feuilles de parchemin. Le texte est réparti en deux colonnes sur chaque page, et l'écriture paraît dater de la fin du XIIIe siècle. Le copiste a pris soin de faire connaître son nom ; on lit p. 121, à la fin du n° 16 : χριστέ, παράσχου τοῖς ἐμοῖς πόνοις χάριν, οἴμοι τῷ ἀθλίῳ μονοτρόπῳ Νικήτᾳ et p. 215, à la fin de la vie de Saint Anastase : εὔχεσθαί (lire εὔχεσθέ) μοι τῷ τάλενι (lire τάλαινι pour τάλανι?) μοναχῷ Νικήτᾳ, καὶ τῶν ἐπταισμένων μοι αἰτῶ συγγνώμην.

Le *Baroccianus* 183 contient un ménologe du mois de janvier. C'est un spécimen de plus à ajouter à ceux que M. Krumbacher a décrits [3]. En voici la composi-

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1) Cf. les *Studien* de Krumbacher, ouvrage cité plus haut, et *La tradition manuscrite de la vie de Saint Théodose par Théodore, d'après le Patmiacus 273*, par J. Bidez et L. Parmentier, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 1897, p. 357-374. — Cf. encore une notice de Vitelli sur un manuscrit de Gênes, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, tome II, 1894, p. 373, — et sur un manuscrit de Lesbos, *ibid.*, p. 138. (Voir Papadop. Kerameus, Μαυρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη, p. 42).

2) *Étude citée*, p. 378 : " *Diese Hs. ... ist jedenfalls für eine neue Ausgabe beizuziehen.* "

3) *Étude citée*, p. 226 ss.

tion, que je publie, pour qu'on ne doive pas refaire après moi un travail fastidieux, et aussi pour qu'on ne se laisse plus tromper par l'inventaire trop sommaire du catalogue de Coxe :

1. F. 1 ss., 1er janvier, sermon sur Saint Basile par Amphilochius = B 4 [1].

2. F. 21 ss., 2 janvier, vie de Saint Silvestre = B.

3. F. 35, 3 janvier, renvoi au panégyrique du martyr Gordius par Saint Basile = B.

4. F. 35 ss., 4 janvier, vie de Saint Paul de Thèbes = B 2.

5. F. 41, 5 janvier, renvoi à une homélie de Saint Basile sur le baptême. Cf. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, t. XXXI, 424-444.

6. *Ibid.*, 6 janvier, renvoi à une homélie de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze sur l'Épiphanie. Cf. Migne, *P. G.*, t. XXXVI, 336-360. Puis on lit les mots : ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν κατὰ (!) Ματθαῖον λόγον qui renvoient peut-être à une homélie de Saint Jean Chrysostome : εἰς τὸν κατὰ Ματθαῖον περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τοῦ κυρίου, qu'un autre ménologe du mois de janvier, le *codex Parisinus* 513, n° 7, place à la même date. Cf. *Catalog. cod. hag. gr. bibl. nat. Par.*, p. 11 et Migne, *P. G.*, t. LVII, 183-192.

7 et 8. *Ibid.*, 7 janvier, ἡ σύναξις τοῦ τιμίου προδρόμου Βαπτιστοῦ — Λέγωμεν εἰς τὸν Θεολόγον πρῶτον « χθὲς τῇ λαμπρᾷ τῶν φώτων ἡ (ici un mot illisible) », ἔπειτα· λόγος διαλαμβάνων περὶ τῆς ἀποκομιδῆς τῆς τιμίας χειρὸς τοῦ τιμίου

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1) Suivant l'exemple des Bollandistes (*Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibl. nation. paris.*, *ed. Bollandiani et Omont*, 1896), au lieu de renvoyer chaque fois tout au long à l'édition imprimée de chaque morceau, je me contente de donner le numéro de la *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* des Bollandistes auquel chaque document correspond.

προδρόμου καὶ πῶς ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ΚΠ. *Inc.* Ἰδοὺ καὶ πάλιν. (Ce texte est donné en latin par Surius, à la date du 29 août).

9. F. 45 ss., 9 janvier, martyre de Saint Polyeucte = B2.

10. F. 49, 10 janvier, renvoi au sermon de Grégoire de Nazianze sur Grégoire de Nysse. Cf. Migne, *P. G.*, t. XXXV, 832-841.

11. F. 49 ss., 10 janvier, vie de Saint Marcien de Constantinople = B, p. 74.

12. F. 57 ss., 11 janvier, vie de Saint Théodose = B 1.

13. F. 85 ss., 13 janvier, martyre des saints Hermylus et Stratonicus = B.

14. F. 89 ss., 14 janvier, sermon de Saint Nil sur les moines martyrs du mont Sinaï = B, p. 94.

15. F. 106 ss., 15 janvier, vie de Saint Jean Calybite. *Inc.* Τυραννικόν τι χρῆμα — *Des.* μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ τούτου γονεῖς. Le texte latin est donné dans les *Acta Sanctorum*, janvier, t. I, 1031-1035.

16. F. 112 ss., 16 janvier, sermon sur la vénération de la chaîne de Saint Pierre. *Inc.* Ὅσοι τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων — *Des.* ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν. Le même texte se trouve en grec à la même date dans le *cod. Paris.* 236 (cf. p. 3 du catalogue des Bollandistes), dans le *cod. Paris.* 1448 (p. 112 du même catalogue) et en latin dans Surius à la date du 1er août, où il est attribué à Saint Jean Chrysostome.

17. F. 122 ss., 17 janvier, vie de Saint Antoine l'ermite = B.

18. F. 151, 18 janvier, renvoi à un panégyrique de Saint Athanase par Saint Grégoire de Nazianze = B4.

19. F. 151 ss., même date, vie de Saint Athanase = B 1.

20. F. 167 ss., 20 janvier, vie de Saint Euthyme, abbé = B 1.

21. F. 200 ss., 21 janvier, martyre de Saint Timothée = B 2.

22. F. 204 ss., 22 janvier, martyre de Saint Anastase = B 2.

23. F. 216 ss., 23 janvier, martyre de Saint Clément d'Ancyre = B.

24. F. 239 ss., 24 janvier, vie de Sainte Eusébie Xéné = B.

25. F. 244 ss., 25 janvier, panégyrique de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze = B 1 [1].

26. F. 268 ss., 26 janvier, vie de Saint Xénophon et de ses fils = B. La dernière feuille est mutilée au bas du verso; le texte s'arrête aux mots : αἴτιος ἔσομαι μόνος ὠφθείς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μα...

27. F. 260 ss., 27 janvier, translation des reliques de Saint Jean Chrysostome. Le *Parisinus* 769 contient le même texte. Cf. *Catal. cod. hag. gr. paris.*, p. 32.

Comme on pourra s'en assurer en consultant le catalogue publié par les Bollandistes et M. Omont, la composition de ce manuscrit présente une ressemblance assez grande avec celle de plusieurs autres ménologes de janvier, conservés à la bibliothèque nationale de Paris : ce sont les *Parisini* 513 (du 1er au 18 janvier), 1448 (du 2 au 17), 1464 (du 13 au 20), 1473 et 1493 (du 4 au 18), enfin 1520 (du 9 au 15).

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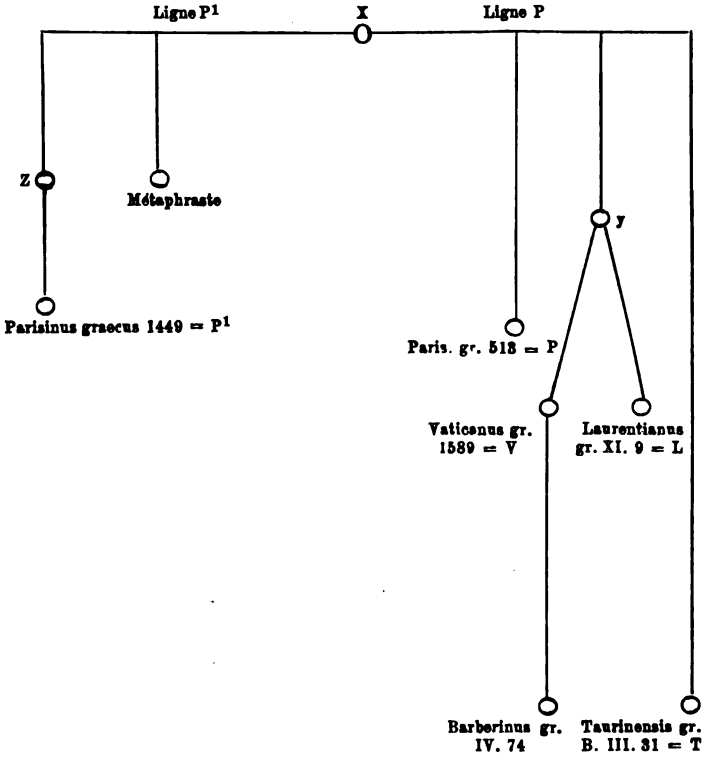
1) Une bévue du relieur a dérangé ici l'ordre des feuilles en transposant les deux derniers quaternions; je décris le volume sans tenir compte de cet accident.

II

Le texte de notre *Baroccianus* apporte un témoignage nouveau à l'appui du stemma que M. Krumbacher a proposé pour le classement des manuscrits de la vie de Saint Théodose [1]; voici la reproduction de ce stemma :



Il semble bien d'abord que le *Baroccianus* (= B) dérive, comme tous les autres manuscrits qui ont été

1) Étude citée, p. 250.

étudiés jusqu'à présent, de l'archétype x : les altérations les plus caractéristiques de cette copie perdue [1] se retrouvent dans B : 52, 16-17 et 69, 6. B a la même lacune que les autres manuscrits — 39, 7 : la faute caractéristique de x : ποταμὸν, est remplacée dans B par τὸ πότιμον ; mais plus loin, on verra que B donne un texte remanié avec beaucoup de liberté ; c'est à ce remaniement sans doute qu'est dûe la conjecture πότιμον, qui doit d'ailleurs laisser la place à celle de Métaphraste et de l'éditeur moderne : ποτὸν ; — la même revision qui a écarté ποταμὸν a fait supprimer 56, 3 les mots ὡς λίαν, incompréhensibles ; M. Usener a été plus heureux en corrigeant en ὡς λέων ; — 49, 8 : B a de même une lacune, à la place d'une faute de l'archétype x.

C'est évidemment à la ligne P que B appartient. Il en a toutes les leçons les plus caractéristiques, qui se trouvent énumérées dans *Byzant. Z.*, p. 371 en bas : 14, 21 : le mot ἀνδρῶν de P¹ ne figure pas dans PAVLB ; — 22, 25 : τεσσερακοστὰ PAVLB (avant la correction) ; τεσσαρακοστὰ P¹ ; — 25, 8 : P¹ et Métaphraste seuls ont οὖν ; — 25, 12 : ποιεῖται PAVLB (ποιήτε P) ; ἐποιεῖτο P¹ ; — 26, 17 : P¹ seul donne les mots ὥσπερ γὰρ, etc. (*Krumbacher*, p. 239) devant οὕτω ; — 29, 26 : καὶ τοσαύτη PAVLB ; καίτοι τοσαύτη P¹ ; — 30, 18 : ἐλευθερώσαντα PAVLB ; ἐλευθερώσοντα P¹ ; — et il a celles du groupe APV citées *ibid.*, immédiatement après : 26, 8 : τὸν ἐντὸς ὁμοῦ (ὁμοῦ A) καὶ ἐκτὸς ἡμῶν ἐμπιπλῶντα PAVB ; τὸν ἐντὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἐμπ. P¹ ; — 28, 9 : εὐλογίαν ἐπὶ τὸ μοναστήριον ἐπικομιζόμενος PAVB ; les mots ἐπὶ τὸ

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1) Cf. Krumbacher, p. 246. Pour éviter des répétitions encombrantes, je désignerai par *Krumbacher* ses *Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios* et par *Byzant. Z.* l'article de MM. Bidez et Parmentier.

μοναστήριον sont omis dans L et placés devant εὐλογίαν dans P[1]; — 48, 21 : δὲ ἦν (ἦν P) ἐνιεῖσα PAVB; δὲ ἦν ἐν ᾗ εἶσατο L; γὰρ ἦν ἐνιεῖσα P[1].

A ces preuves, on peut en ajouter d'autres, fournies par des endroits où le *Patmiacus* A fait défaut : 48, 25 : P[1] seul donne ἀεί, que M. Usener avait déjà introduit dans le texte; il est omis dans PVLB; — 53, 21 : διὰ τοῦ πάσχειν PVLB; διὰ τὸ πάσχειν P[1] Usener; — 64, 9 : τὸ intercalé par M. Usener se trouve dans P[1]; il est omis dans PVLB; — 85, 12 : P[1] donne νίκης (au lieu de σωτηρίας, conjecture de M. Usener); ce mot fait défaut dans PVLB; — 87, 5-7 : ἄνεισι (ἄνησι P; ἀνεῖη ἡ V; ἀνίη ἡ B)... ἐξαιτοῦσα PVLB; ἀνιεῖσα... ἐζήτει P[1]; — 87, 23-24 : P[1] seul donne le texte complet (cf. *Krumbacher*, p. 241) : ἅλωσιν προβλεπτικῷ ὄμματι προεσκόπησεν. οὕτος (pour οὕτως) ὁ θεῖος πατὴρ ἡμῶν θεοδόσιος τῇ τοῦ νοὸς καθαρότητι τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσεσθαι πρᾶγμα ἀντιοχέων μητροπόλει ἀκριβῶς ἡμῖν προεφήτευσεν. ἐν τούτοις οὖν πρ. VL ne donnent que les mots : ἅλωσιν. ἐν τοῖς (γὰρ après τοῖς V) τοιούτοις πρ. et PB ne présentent qu'une minime partie du texte de P[1] : ἅλωσιν προεωράκει (προὐεωράκει P). οὕτως ἐν τοιούτοις προφητικοῖς χαρίσμασιν προκόψας; — 96, 15 : αὐτὸν τὸ πονηρὸν PVLB; αὐτὸν εὐθέως τὸ πονηρὸν P[1]; — 96, 17 : πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀγαπητοὶ PVLB; πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐντρυφῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ ἀγαπητοὶ P[1]; — 97, 1 : τὴν ὁσίαν κοίμησιν PVLB; τὴν ὁσίαν ἀκούσας κοίμησιν P[1]; M. Usener avait supposé avec bonheur que ce participe devait exister dans le texte primitif, mais il l'avait placé l. 2 devant ὁ; — 100, 19 : οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ PVLB; οὐ μετὰ πολὺ P[1].

Avec P[1] seul, B ne concorde que dans quelques cas insignifiants; le seul qui mérite d'être relevé ici est la

1) Voir Krumbacher, p. 312.

faute τοὺς ὅσους 67, 11 [1]; L donnait τοὺς σοὶ; la bonne leçon est évidemment τοὺς ὅσοι PV [1].

De tous les représentants de ce groupe P, c'est le manuscrit A qui paraît le plus voisin du *Baroccianus:* les remaniements, omissions et erreurs spéciales à la copie de Patmos se retrouvent presque au complet dans B; par ex.: 7, 17 : καὶ omis AB; — 8, 18 : πολιτείας] βασιλείας, placé d'ailleurs après ἐπιτυχεῖν; — 12, 24 : μὲ] μὲν; — 15, 6 : χρυσὸν, 8 : ἐκείνους ajouté devant ὑπὸ et 17 : καὶ ὁρῶμεν; — 18, 17 : οἷς διὰ] οὓς διά τε; — 19, 1-2 : κατεφρόνει; — 20, 12 : devant ἐν, B ajoute ἀργὴν et A ἀργὴν εἶναι, 14 : ὁ μιαρὸς omis, 19 : devant καὶ, AB ajoutent οὖν οὗτος, 21 : ἀπεκρούετο B, ἀπεκρούετω A; devant ταύτην, AB ajoutent τὰς ἡδονὰς τοῦ σώματος; — 22, 1 : devant τῆς, ils ajoutent γὰρ et 15 : τῆς omis; — 24, 6 : ἐνθάδε omis; — 24, 7... 8 : πῶς ἂν ἐμφανέστερον omis; — 28, 5 : καὶ ajouté devant ὅτι; — 28, 21 : καὶ omis; — 28, 24 : πατέρες λίαν ἐστενοχωροῦντο; — 28, 27 : ὁδοῦ omis; — 30, 12 : τὸ] τε; — 30, 20 : ἀποκατέστησας A; ἀπεκατέστησας B; — 31, 20 : κουτηλᾶ; — 32, 8 : ἑκατοντάδα δεξάμενοι] ἑκατὸν καταδεξάμενοι; — 33, 1 : ἐστὶν ajouté devant ἐπειδὴ, etc., etc.

Il est certain pourtant que A, même à un moment où il était encore complet, n'a pas servi d'archétype à B; il suffit pour le démontrer de citer quelques-unes des fautes, omissions, ou corrections de A, qui ne sont pas dans B : 7, 1 : πατρὸς ἡμῶν μήτηρ] πατρὸς μήτηρ B, μήτηρ A; — 8, 8 : ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι devant ζωὴν PVB, omis A; — 8, 15 : γνῶναι καὶ ἰδεῖν PVB, γνῶναι ἰδεῖν A; — 8, 20 : ὑπὸ Usener, ἐπὶ PVLB, πρὸς A; — 12, 22 : σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος PB et Mét., τοῦ αἰῶνος omis A, etc., etc.

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1) Cf. Evagrius, éd. Bidez et Parmentier, *index graecitatis, s. v.* ὅσος.

D'un autre côté, plus d'un passage démontre, indépendamment de l'âge des écritures (A paraît être du XIe, B du XIIIe siècle), que A ne dérive pas non plus de B ; voici par exemple quelques phrases omises dans B qui se trouvent dans A : 7, 5... 6 : ἐγεννήθη... γεννήσασα ; — 10, 13... 21 : τοῦτο... αὐτοῦ ; — 10, 23... 11, 1 : τῇ... ὑπηγόρευσεν ; — 12, 10... 11 : τοῦ... ἄρξομαι, etc., etc.

Il semble que cette recension AB s'est multipliée dans de nombreux manuscrits. D'après les spécimens du texte d'un manuscrit de Gênes, que M. Vitelli a réunis dans une notice signalée déjà plus haut (*Studi italiani di filologia classica*, t. II, 1894, p. 373), ce codex reproduit une version très voisine de celle-là : 3, 18 : θεότητος comme AB au lieu de θεότητι ; — 4, 8 : comme AB, il a devant τὸν θεὸν les mots ἡ ψυχή μου πρὸς σὲ ὁ θεός· ἐδίψησεν ἡ ψυχή μου πρὸς ; si ces mots se trouvaient dans PV, M. Krumbacher l'aurait sans doute fait remarquer ; — 4, 18 : στάχυν comme AB ; — 4, 23 : οὗτος omis comme AB.

Il est difficile de déterminer exactement dans la ligne P la place de l'archétype des manuscrits A et B. MM. Bidez et Parmentier, d'après l'échantillon du texte que leur fournissait le *Patmiacus*, étaient d'avis qu'il fallait attribuer un archétype commun à P et à A, mais ils demeuraient en somme fort hésitants [1]. Maintenant que B nous fait connaître le reste de cette version, on est surtout frappé des rencontres fréquentes de ses leçons avec celles du *Laurentianus* (= L) ; ces rencontres sont telles qu'il faut bien admettre une parenté très-étroite entre les deux copies : 5, 4 : κερδα-

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1) *Byzant. Z.*, p. 364 : « *La reconstitution d'un archétype u commun à PA n'a pas pour elle une certitude aussi entière.* »

νόντων (κερδανούντων A) LAB ; — 6, 12 : ἁρμαθὲμ (ἁρμαθὲν B) LAB ; — 7, 24 : τῶν ὅλων se trouve en marge dans L et omis par B ; — 11, 17 ἰδίᾳ] ἰδέαν B, εἰδέαν L ; — 11, 25-26 : παρενηνεγμένον] παρὲν · ἠνεγμένον L, παραινεῖν ἐκμενων B ; — 14, 6 : ἀπέλιπε P¹PV, ἀπέλειπε LA ; — 15,6 : χρυσίον] χρυσὶν L, χρυσὸν AB ; — 16, 2 : παράδοσιν] παράδωσιν L, παραδίδωσιν B ; — 17, 11 : αὐτὴν] τὴν αὐτὴν LB (A manque) ; — 18, 24 : εὑρίσκον] εὑρίσκων LA, εὑρικὼς B ; — 24, 12 : ἀποτελοῦσαν] ἀποτελοῦσα LB ; — 25, 26 : προθεώρησε P¹PVA, προθεωρῆσαι LB ; — 26, 26 : χάρις] ἡ χάρις LAB ; — 38. 5 : εἷς LB, omis P¹PV (A manque) ; — 39, 23 : ἤρτηται P¹V, εἴρηται, τ en interligne P, εἴρηται LAB ; — 73, 25 : ἀνάμεστον P¹PV, ἀνάπλεων B = L ; — 73, 27 : ἐκαθέσθησαν P¹PV, ἐκάθισαν BL ; — 79, 15 : οἰκοδομικῆς] οἰκοδομης et en marge κης L, οἰκοδομῆς B ; — 79, 18 : τοῦ θανάτου P¹PV, τῷ θανάτω BL ; — 84, 19 : ἐώρουν LB ; — 85, 3 : ἐκτάσεως P¹PV, B corrompt ἐκστάσεως, L omet ; — 89, 23 : ἧκεν V, εἶκεν P¹, ἧκει P, ἧ κεν L, ἡ κοινὴ B (ἡ suivant omis) ; — 90, 21 : μετὰ BL, omis P¹PV ; — 95, 22 : ἀφήσειν] ἀφείσιν L, ἀφίησιν B ; — 96, 17 : B omet τοίνυν avec L ; — 98, 7 : ἡμῖν P¹PV, ἡμῶν BL ; — 100, 20 : τούτου au lieu de τούτου τοῦ BL ; — 100, 21 : μετασχηματισμὸν] μετὰ σχηματισμὸν L, μετὰ σχηματισμοῦ B.

A ces rencontres, il faut ajouter celles du *Baroccianus* avec VL ; par exemple (cf. notre collation p. 25 ss. et *Krumb.*, p. 280 ss.) : 7, 11 ; 14, 2 ; 31, 24 ; 62, 19 ; 68, 24 ; 71, 23 ; 72, 21 ; 79, 25 ; 83, 25 ; 98, 2 ; 98, 17 ; 99, 19, etc.

Il reste toutefois un assez bon nombre de fautes spéciales à BP ; ces fautes sont venues peut-être, non pas d'un archétype commun à ces deux copies, mais de ce que l'état de l'archétype de toute la ligne P pouvait

amener les mêmes fautes dans deux de ses dérivés, indépendants pourtant l'un de l'autre; mais l'examen de cette question ne peut être entrepris sérieusement que par celui qui disposera d'une collation complète de tous les manuscrits. Il me manque visiblement trop de renseignements pour que j'essaie de refaire ici un arbre généalogique de la ligne P. Ce qu'il importe de retenir, c'est seulement que B forme avec A un groupe indépendant, que le témoignage de ce groupe de manuscrits vaut celui des autres représentants de la même ligne, conservant tantôt avec l'un, tantôt avec l'autre, tantôt seul dans cette ligne, la bonne leçon :

Avec V ou VL, par ex. : 17, 16 : ὑπείκων P^1VB; — 78, 6 : ἀνιμήσασθαι P^1VB.

Avec P : 8, 15 : τὴν τοῦ PB; — 12, 22 : τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου PB; — 22, 5 : παντὸς πράγματος P^1PAB; — 27, 7 ἐκτενῶς ὕμνησαν P^1PAB; — 27, 12 : οἵτινες P^1PAB; — 43, 7 : ἐκεῖ θλίψεως PA et sans doute B (voir la collation, p. 31).

Seul avec P^1 : 19, 25 : ὄσπριον P^1AB; — 25, 15 : χριστοῦ ἀληθῶς P^1, ἀληθῶς χριστοῦ A, ἀληθῶς θεοῦ B; — 47, 23 : τὸν ῥωμαλέον.

Il est un bon nombre de cas où j'ai trouvé dans B des leçons qu'il faudra prendre en considération et que personne encore n'avait relevées dans aucun des manuscrits déjà étudiés. J'en citerai ici quelques-unes, prises parmi les plus intéressantes : 22, 24 : B donne ἔνματα comme Métaphraste; voir le commentaire de M. Usener sur ce passage; — 37, 17 : ἕκαστον; — 45, 6 : ἐν ἢ τῇ ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ; — 50, 7 : καὶ διὰ πάσης comme M. Usener l'avait proposé; — 51, 2 : προλαβόντος] παρόντος comme le *Parisinus* 1448 de Métaphraste; — 52, 17 : ἡμεῖς μὲν, voir le texte de Saint Basile; —

55, 24 : τεθεῖσα L, τιθεῖσα B ; — 56, 14 : γνῶμεν comme M. Usener l'a supposé ; — 71, 6 : μαζόν] μασθὸν comme Métaphraste ; — 74, 2 : καλεῖται] ἐκάλει comme Métaphraste, et 74, 21 : μὴ ἔχειν σῖτον ; — 75, 4 : μετὰ τὴν] μεστὴν, ce qui rend inutiles les additions proposées par M. Usener ; — 77, 18 : ἐν omis, ce qui concorde avec le texte de Métaphraste ; — 78, 25 : ἑτέρω, lire ἑτέρᾳ ; — 80, 2 : ὁ ὅσιος (ὁ μέγας Métaphraste) ; — 81, 12 : χρυσίνους] χρυσοὺς comme Métaphraste ; — 82, 11 : ἀντηλλάξατο ; — 83, 4 : ἰδεῖν νῦν comme Métaphraste ; — 86, 10 : τὴν θέαν παραλαβόντες ; — 86, 25 : τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκπληροῦν ἐκπλήττεται, c'est la bonne leçon ; l'omission de L vient d'un ὁμοιόαρκτον ; — 90, 3 : τῆς δερματίνης τῶν λαγόνων ὑποσυρείσης σκέπης ; — 91, 25 : οὐ] οὐδὲ avec Métaphraste ; — 92, 9 : δειλίας] δουλείας, qui s'oppose à υἱοθεσίας et doit certainement être admis dans le texte.

III

Le texte du *Baroccianus* présente un nombre considérable de fautes ; les fautes d'orthographe (iotacismes, αι pour ε, longues pour brèves et réciproquement) se répètent à chaque page.

Les omissions surtout sont fréquentes. Quelques-unes peuvent provenir d'une inattention ou d'une négligence ; telles sont sans doute les omissions qui coïncident avec un ὁμοιοτέλευτον (Cf. la collation du *Baroccianus*, p. 24 s.) : 10, 23... 11, 1 ; 52, 6... 9 ; 53, 16... 18 ; 63, 27... 64, 1 ; 72, 22... 24 ; 88, 18 ; 89, 18... 19 ; 90, 25... 91, 1 ; 100, 22. Mais la plupart sont intentionnelles. Le copiste, visiblement, a voulu abréger. C'est ainsi qu'il omet en entier la lettre de

Saint Théodose à l'empereur Anastase et la réponse de l'empereur (56, 24 à 62, 2; voir plus loin p. 33); il se contente de renvoyer à la vie de Saint Sabas, par Cyrille de Scythopolis, où les mêmes lettres sont reproduites : τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου σάββα (pour Σάβα) δηλούσης κατὰ μέρος τὸ ἄνδρειον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀρθόδοξον.

Il en est de même des citations bibliques qui sont assez souvent écourtées, ou même omises complètement : 19, 19... 21 : καὶ... αὐτοῦ] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ; — 42, 4... 6 : γίνεσθε... ἐστίν omis; — 90, 16... 18 : καὶ... σου omis; — 92, 1... 7 : πρὸς... γένηται] πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν μαθητὴν ἐλισσαῖον.

Beaucoup de pronoms et d'adjectifs pronominaux manquent dans le texte : 4, 21 : εἰς αὐτοὺς; — 11, 3 : αὐτῶν; — 13, 14 : τοῦτο; — 23, 23 : αὐτῶν; — 26, 15: οὗτος; — 28, 16: αὐτοὺς; — 31, 11 : με; — 38, 23 : τούτοις; — 45, 25 : ἅπαντες; — 55, 19 : ἐπὶ τούτῳ; — 67, 15 : αὐτὸς; — 86, 23: ταύτην; — 88, 15 : αὐτοῦ; — 92, 12 : σου; — 94, 7... 8 : μετ' αὐτὰς; — 95, 25 : ἐκεῖνος; — 96, 14 : αὐτὸν; — 96, 15 : ἐκεῖνο; — 98, 26: αὐτῶν; — 98, 28 : μετ' ἐκεῖνον.

Les omissions d'abverbes sont aussi fréquentes : 24, 11 : δηλαδὴ; — 25, 10 : ἤδη; — 26, 7 : νῦν; — 35, 13 : ἐλεεινῶς; — 36, 23 : τότε; — 41, 11 : νῦν; — 44, 2 : ἀδιαλείπτως; — 45, 25 : οὕτως; — 50, 11 : πάντως; — 62, 2 : πάλιν; — 69, 20 : τηνικαῦτα; — 77, 20: τῆδε; — 78, 18 : νῦν; — 90, 10 : ἐναργῶς; — 101, 1 : οὕτως.

Assez souvent aussi, B omet des conjonctions, par exemple καὶ : 3, 9 devant υἱοῦ; 8, 22; 35, 15; 74, 20; 88, 24; 91, 3; — τε : 31, 7; 32, 23; 99, 8; — μὲν : 95, 8; — δὲ : 11, 12; 27, 2; 35, 14 et 15; 55, 14; 89, 9; — γὰρ : 27, 2; 73, 17; — γε : 69, 3; — οὖν :

73, 15; 93, 3; — δὴ οὖν : 30, 11; — ἤ : 45, 1, etc.; mais il en ajoute aussi, par exemple καὶ : 22, 15 : devant καθάπερ; — 23, 24 : devant θεωρεῖ; — 25, 18 : devant συνεχεῖς; — 66, 16 : devant ἀτρέπτως et devant ἀδιαιρέτως; — 99, 15 : devant τὴν; — δὲ : 9, 3 : devant ὁ; — 23, 21 : devant τοίνυν; — 74, 16 : devant ἐν, etc.

L'article est souvent omis, particulièrement quand il est séparé par des déterminants du mot auquel il se rapporte; par exemple : 20, 7 : τῇ; — 38, 2 : τὸ; — 64, 18 : τὸ; — 66, 2 : ἡ; — 67, 3 : τῇ; — 76, 19 : τοὺς; — 87, 5 : ἡ; — 100. 2 : ἡ; aussi devant θεός, χριστός, σωτὴρ, κύριος : 11, 8 : τοῦ; — 16, 6 : ὁ; — 17, 13: τοῦ; — 72, 13 : ὁ; — 77, 4 : τοῦ; — 96, 16: τοῦ; souvent aussi l'article est ajouté et plus d'une fois justement devant ces mêmes mots : 37, 22 : ὁ devant θεός; — 42, 4 : τοῦ devant χριστοῦ; — 62, 10: τοῦ devant θεοῦ; — 66, 11 : τοῦ devant χριστοῦ; — 73, 10 : τοῦ devant θεοῦ; — 78, 18 : τοῦ devant θεοῦ, etc.

Mais c'est surtout dans la rhétorique de Théodore que l'abréviateur a fait des coupes. Il sacrifie des développements dont Théodore avait sans doute été très fier, en amputant sans égard ses belles périodes : 35, 3... : δὴ... ἡμῖν; — 40, 18... 24 : ἐδιάζον... προσαγομένης; — 42, 12... 13 : ἅτε... πυρούμενος; — 43, 1... 3 : ὃ τοῦ παθεῖν ἐστιν... βάσανος; — 46, 16... 19 : τῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ... παραπέμψομαι; — 46, 21... 23 : ὡς... πατρός; — 47, 23... 48, 3 : τίς... ἀντιτείνοντας; — 50, 16... 20 : τῶν... ὑποκρίσεως; — 63, 14... 16 : φύσει... αὐτός; — 73, 11 : καταξιωθῶμεν οἰκτιρμοῖς; — 76, 22... 77, 3 : οἱ... φωνὴ.

Il supprime des traits : 43, 6... 8 : ἐπαγομένων... σύμβολον; — 48, 17... 18 : ὡς... ἐναντία; — 53, 16... 18:

πάντα... λυσιτελέστερον ; — 87, 14... 16 : καθαρότητος... καρδίᾳ.

Des comparaisons : 10, 13... 21 : τοῦτο... αὐτοῦ ; — 47, 9... 11 : ὡς... χριστός.

Des antithèses : 7, 5... 6 : ἐγεννήθη... γεννήσασα ; — 41, 16 : μὴ κατὰ χριστὸν ; — 47, 5... 6 : τὸν... αὐχένα ; — 49, 11... 15 : αὔξησις... καιρὸς ; — 54, 9... 11 : ἵνα... φωραθείη.

Des répétitions à effet : 17, 10 : καθαρὰ ; — 24, 24 : καὶ ἑορτὴ ; — 25, 1 : τῆς ὄντως ἀναστάσεως ; — 47, 15 : 2^d^ λόγῳ ; — 50, 11 : πάντως.

Des transitions : 49, 20... 22 : ἡμεῖς... θαυμάσομεν ; — 79, 12... 13 : τῆς... ὀδυρομένη ; — 94, 1 : Ἀλλὰ... ἀφήγησις.

Des épithètes laudatives dont Théodore avait aimé à orner ses phrases : 9, 19 : μακάριος ; — 15, 23 : φωστὴρ ; — 28, 20 : τελείαν ; — 35, 13 : εὔσπλαγχνος ; — 44, 26 : τέλειός τις ; — 45, 24 : ἁγίᾳ ; — 50, 14... 15 (voir la collation, p. 32) ; — 72, 3 : ἀνενδοιάστου ; — 74, 18 : μακάριος ; — 82, 1 : ἁγίαις ; — 89, 5 : ἁγίαν.

Il n'est pas possible de signaler ici toutes les omissions du *Baroccianus;* il n'y en a pas moins de 200 dans tout le cours du morceau, mais il sera intéressant de faire remarquer encore deux lacunes qui m'ont paru très caractéristiques : le copiste, qui appartenait apparemment à un autre monastère que Théodose et Théodore, omet d'un bout à l'autre deux passages où il est question du couvent du saint : 92, 15... 93, 2 : κατά... στάσεως où Théodore fait un éloge de ce couvent et 98, 4... 14 : ὀδυρόμεθα... ἀναρριπίζοντος ; ce dernier passage devait disparaître d'ailleurs, du moment que le panégyrique ne s'adressait plus aux moines contemporains de Saint Théodose.

La liste complète des remaniements ne serait guère moins longue que celle des omissions. En général, le copiste a voulu simplifier, en mettant — parfois à contre-sens — des expressions plus connues ou plus simples à la place d'autres plus rares ou plus compliquées, par exemple : 10, 21 : τῷ ἐν πνεύματι υἱῷ Θεοδοσίῳ] τῷ μακαρίτι θεοδοσίῳ; — 11, 24 : προμηθείας] προθυμίας ; — 13, 5... 6 : μελέτας ποιησαμένων] ἀρετὰς κτησαμένων; — 14, 6 : ὡς ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις] παρὰ πᾶσιν ; — 14, 8...9 : μονομαχήσων λοιπὸν τῷ κοινῷ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐχθρῷ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ κάτεισι] μονομαχῆσαι λοιπὸν τὸν κοινὸν πάντων ἐχθρὸν ἡμῶν διάβολον παρεσκεύασεν; — 40, 12 : τοῖς ἀζύγοις] τοῖς μοναχοῖς; — 41, 12 : μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τῶν κατὰ χριστὸν αὐτῇ γεννηθέντων] μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς; — 42, 25... 43, 1 : τοῖς φοβεροῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ ἀπεράντοις ταμιεύεσθαι κριτηρίοις] ταῖς αἰωνίοις παραδοθῆναι κολάσεσιν; — 75, 3 : τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρεῖον] μοναστήριον; — 76, 20 : τὰς πέντε χιλιάδας] τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἄνδρας; — 82, 23 : διιππεύσαντος] διελθόντος; — 84, 17 : ὁμίχλη τις γηγενὴς ἀναρριπισθεῖσα] ὁμίχλη τις γεγενημένης (lire γεγενημένη); — 93, 18... 22 : φύγωμεν οὖν καὶ τὴν φιλάνθρωπον καὶ πατρικοῖς συγκεκλωσμένην σπλάγχνοις παιδείαν] φύγωμεν οὖν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τῶν συγγενῶν ἡμῶν τῶν κατὰ σάρκα.

Parfois aussi le copiste a voulu simplifier en découpant les longues périodes en phrases plus courtes; par exemple : 11, 14 : il écrit ἀποφεύγουσι au lieu de ἀποφεύγοντες; — 45, 24 : ἕκαστοι... ποιούμενοι] ἕκαστος ἐποιήτω; — 75, 6 : θεωρήσας ἀποθήκην ἕνα...] ἀποθήκην εὗρεν ἕνα δὲ... ; — 81, 19...20 : ἑξορίαν καταδικασθεὶς τὰ] ἑξορία κατεδικάσθη καὶ ; — 85, 22 : ἀδελφοῖς ἐν θαλάττῃ κυνδυνεύουσι καὶ ἐκείνου εὐχὰς ἐπικαλεσαμένοις...] ἀδελφοὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ ἐκινδύνευον, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου εὐχὰς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι. ...

Plus d'une fois, la forme simple du verbe est

employée au lieu du verbe composé : 13, 22 : ἄγουσαν pour ἀπάγουσαν ; — 15, 18 : ὁδευόντων pour παροδευόντων ; — 16, 1 : τιθέναι pour προστθεῖναι ; — 17, 9... 10 : ἠγωνίζετο pour ἀντηγωνίζετο ; — 28, 1 : ἐπίστευσε pour ἐνεπίστευσεν ; — 74, 9 : ἐφέρετο pour ἐπεφέρετο ; — 101, 8 : ποιμαίνης pour συμποιμαίνοις.

B change assez souvent les cas ; il emploie l'accusatif pour le datif : 12, 14 : τοῖς τ. π. κ. μ. π. πνεύμασιν] τὰ τ. π. πνεύματα ; — 56, 3... 4 : τῇ ε. θ. α. ἐ. π. ἀγάπῃ] τὴν ε. θ. α. ἐ. π. ἀγάπην ; — 68, 5 : τῇ ἀληθείᾳ] τὴν ἀληθείαν ; — 101, 7 : τῇ προσηγορίᾳ] τὴν προσηγορίαν ; le datif pour l'accusatif : 38, 9 : τὴν περιουσίαν] τῇ περιουσία ; — 81, 19... 20 : ἐξορίαν] ἐξορία ; — 83, 13 : τὴν ψυχὴν] τῇ ψυχῇ ; — 86, 23 : τὴν πνευματικὴν τ. ἐ. λειτουργίαν] τῇ πνευματικὶ ἐ. λειτουργία et l'accusatif pour le génitif : 52, 17 : βασιλείας] βασιλείαν ; — 56, 12 : τῆσδε τῆς χώρας] τὴν χώραν.

Il change encore les cas avec les prépositions : 15, 18 : ἐπὶ τὴν pour ἐπὶ τῇ ; — 16, 18 : πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἔλλαμψιν] πρὸς τῇ θεία ἐλλάμψει ; — 37, 26 : εἰς θεῷ pour εἰς θεὸν ; — 38, 6 : διὰ τὸ pour διὰ τοῦ et 39, 18 : διὰ τούτων pour διὰ τοῦτο ; — 38, 7 : ἐκ τὸ pour ἐκ τοῦ ; — 88, 4 : ὑπ' αὐτοῦ pour ὑπ' αὐτὸν.

Quelquefois une préposition est remplacée par une préposition synonyme : 8, 12 ἐν νῷ] εἰς νοῦν ; — 15, 10 : εἰς τὰ] πρὸς τὰ ; — 79, 21 : πρὸς ὕψος] εἰς ὕψος ou même par une préposition de sens différent : 21, 22 : ἐκ τούτου] πρὸς τοῦτο ; — 82, 8 : ἐκ κακίας] εἰς κακίαν.

Parfois encore un datif ou un génitif remplace une préposition avec son complément : 40, 25 : ὑπ' αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ ; — 54, 14 : παρὰ τῶν] τῶν ; — 66, 3... 4 : κατὰ φαντασίαν] φαντασίᾳ ; — 87, 10 : ἐκ θεοῦ] θεοῦ (comme Métaphraste).

Il faut aussi noter quelques vulgarismes, comme 14, 20 : τούτος pour οὗτος (voir *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechische Sprache von Karl Dieterich.* Leipzig, Teubner, 1898, p. 197); — 18, 21 : ὀξὺν pour ὀξύ : — 29, 17 : χεῖραν pour χεῖρα (*Unters.*, p. 159); — 43, 18 : ἐλπίδαν pour ἐλπίδα (*Unters.*, p. 159); — 67, 5 : μονογενὴν pour μονογενῆ (voir exemples analogues dans *Unters.*, p. 175).

Le copiste remplace encore la 1re personne du singulier par la 1re personne du pluriel : 38, 11 : πιστώσομαι] πιστώσωμεν; — 54, 5 : ἀποπέμψωμαι] ἀποπέμψωμεν ; — 78, 26 : διηγήσομαι] διηγησόμεθα ; — 98, 28 : δοκῶ] δοκήσωμεν et dans un très grand nombre de cas, il dérange la place des mots (voir ma collation, p. 24 s.) : 4, 17; 8, 1; 9, 25... 26; 12, 9; 13, 8; 15, 1; 16, 22... 23; 19, 14; 22, 26... 27; 26, 5; 29, 24... 25; 33, 6; 40, 12... 13; 50, 6... 7; 53, 15; 55, 12... 13; 67, 22... 23; 77, 10; 78, 19... 20; 82, 16; 83, 1; 83, 4; 90, 8... 9; 90, 11; 94, 22; 95, 5; 97, 9.

Notons enfin que B ajoute dans la marge des chiffres indiquant le nombre des miracles accomplis par le saint (voir plus loin, p. 34 s.).

Faut-il attribuer toutes ces fautes, toutes ces omissions et tous ces remaniements à un seul et même copiste qui serait Nicétas? Il est difficile de l'affirmer, car il n'est guère possible d'attribuer à l'auteur des grossières fautes d'orthographe qui sont si fréquentes dans ce manuscrit, la révision savante et habile à laquelle sont dues les conjectures comme πότιμον pour ποταμὸν (p. 39, 7) ou encore le renvoi à la vie de Saint Sabas par Cyrille de Scythopolis, qui indiquent un lettré et un helléniste.

De plus, il est certain qu'il nous manque beaucoup

d'intermédiaires et l'on retrouverait sans doute dans A [1], s'il était complet, peut-être dans G beaucoup de ces leçons qui sont dans B. Ce qui a été caractérisé dans cette étude, c'est donc plutôt le texte du *Baroccianus* que l'œuvre de Nicétas.

Pour éviter qu'un autre ne doive refaire le travail fastidieux de collationner le manuscrit d'Oxford, je crois bien faire en publiant ici la collation en entier.

Le manuscrit a été comparé avec le texte de M. Usener.

P. 3, f. 57r, 2 ἁγίου] ὁσίου — ἀββᾶ om. — 3-7 τοῦ ... μαθητοῦ] τοῦ κοινοβιάρχου — 9 πατρὸς υἱοῦ — 12 πᾶσι — ἀένναον — 14-15 ἐπώμενοι — 17 θεωρουμένοις — 18 θεότητος — 20 ἀνέκραγεν — 21 πινέτο — τὸ om. — 22 τῷ] τὸ — ἐκκαιώμενοι.

P. 4, 1 πάσις — 2 προστρέχουσιν σπουδῆς — ὡς εἰς αὔλακας — 3 εἰ καὶ παραδείσσους — ἀρδεύοντες om. — 4 εὐώδι — 5 à partir d'ici, je n'ai plus noté les ν euphoniques ajoutés ou non. — 6 γενόμενος — 8 μου πρὸς] μου πρὸς σὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἐδίψησεν ἡ ψυχή μου πρὸς — 12 ἤλκυσα — 13 χρει — 17 ἕκαστος τῶν ἰδίων πόνων — 18 στάχυν ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐ. — 19 εἰ θεία — 20 πολυ| f. 57v — 21 εἰς αὐτοὺς om. — 23 οὗτος om. — 24-25 τὸν λόγον — 25 δοθῆσιν — 26 καὶ om.

P. 5, 2 τῇδε] τήνδε — πανιγύρεως — 4 τῇ ... κερδανάντων] τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν κερδανόντων — 8 ἑαυτὸν] αὐτῶν — 14-15 γονέων ὅθεν τε — 16-17 ἠγωνίσατο σκάμμα χρέως μὲν πρότερον ἐξελθεῖν — 18 σύνεστι τὸ περιφανέστατον — 20 βαρύνων.

P. 6, 2 προσευχῶν — 3 τῷ] τὸ — 5 ψαλμωδὼς — 6-7 ἡμετερον | f. 58r. A partir d'ici, je n'ai plus noté les iota-

1) Nous ne connaissons pas même tout P1, P, etc.

cismes, ε pour αι, longues ou brèves, ρρ pour ρ, excepté dans le cas où la faute serait intéressante. — 9 μωγαριασός — 11 καὶ σαμουὴλ — 12 ἀνατεθεὶς τῷ θεῷ] θεόσδοτος — ἀρμαθὲν — 14-15 γεγονὸς] γέγονεν — 16 τῇ μεγαλοφυία — 22-23 εὐσεβεῖς τε καὶ θεάρεστοι ὅμου — 23 κατελαμπρύνοντο.

P. 7, 1-2 πατρὸς μήτηρ εὐλ. — 5-6 ἐγεννήθη ... γεννήσασα om. — 7 ἀναδειχθεὶς — καὶ] ἅμα καὶ — 10 μέλλων — 11 οἷον om. — 16 προσκυνῆσαι τοὺς ἁγίους τόπους — 17 καὶ om. — 21 καὶ θεοσεβῶς ἀναδειχθεὶς δὲ καὶ παιδευθεὶς προσφιλῆς — 24 τοῦ θεοῦ | f. 58ᵛ — τῶν ὅλων om.

P. 8, 1 γραφῶν ἀκούων λέγοντος — 3 σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πρς σου καὶ δεῦρο — 4 εἰς αὐτῶ — 7 ἀδελφοὺς ἢ ἀδελφὰς — 8 αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ζωὴν — 12 εἰς νοῦν — 13-14 καθάπερ ... Ἱεροσόλυμα] δεῖν ἀπαίρειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔγνων — 16 καὶ γνῶναι καὶ ἰδεῖν — 17 ἐφικτόν] δυνατόν — 18 ἀγγελικῆς ἐπιτυχεῖν βασιλείας — 19 ἀπάρχεται — τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσόλυμα — 20 ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ — 22 καὶ om. — συναθροισθεῖσαν.

P. 9, 2 ἐπικαλεσάμενος δὲ — 4 καὶ om. — καὶ εἰπὼν — ἐν τῇ ὁδός σου — 8 βουλὴ — 12 καὶ om. — 15 ἀκτῖσιν | f. 59ᶜ — 16-17 προφητεύεται ... τῷ γὰρ] προφητεύεται αὐτῷ αὐτίκα· τῷ γὰρ — 17 ἐκείνου ... τοῦ μεγάλου Συμεῶνος om. — 19 Θεοδόσιος ὁ μακάριος] ὁ Θεοδόσιος — 20 ἐκβοήσαντος — 25 πρὸς τὴν γῆν τὸ οἰκεῖον πρόσωπον ἐρρήσαντος — 26 εὐθὺς ὁ θαυμαστὸς πεποίηκεν.

P. 10, 1 ἀναβῆναι δὲ] καὶ ἀναβῆναι — 2 ἀνελθόντι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πρ. — 5 ἄπελθε καθῶς διενοήθης παρὰ γὰρ — 7 θελήσεις — 11 ἐπιβουλὰς νοητῶν θηρίων — 13-21 τοῦτο ... αὐτοῦ om. — 21-22 οὕτως ὁ μέγας Συμεὼν τῷ μακαρίτι θεοδοσίῳ — 23-11,1 τῇ ἐλπίδι ... ὑπηγόρευσεν om.

P. 11, 1 ὑπεκρίνατο — 2 συμεὼν — 3 αὐτῶν om. — 5 ἔστιν om. — 8 τοῦ θεοῦ] θεοῦ — 10 τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ om. — 11 πολὺ γὰρ τὸ ἐκκλίνειν — 12 δὲ om. — 14 ἀποφεύγουσι — 15 πνεύματος | f. 59ᵛ — 17 ἰδίᾳ] ἰδέαν — 20 ὅσης οἱ] ὅσοι — 21 οἱ

om. — 24-25 προμηθείας] προθυμίας — 25-26 παραινεῖν ἐκμενῶν.

P. 12, 1 μήτε — 2 ἀψάμενος φέρε καὶ πάλιν — ἐπανέλθωμεν — 9 ὕστερον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν — 10 τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἄρξομαι om. — 11 ἢ om. — 14-15 ἀσφαλὲς τὰ τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα πρὸς παλαίειν μόνος — 19 χῦ δύναμιν — 22-24 σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου πρὸς παράταξιν δυνηθῶ. λείπεται οὖν — 24 με] μὲν — 25 μαθητεῦσαι.

P. 13, 1 δρέψασθαι] τρυγῆσαι — 4 ἐγκεκαλλώπιστω — 5-6 μελέτας ποιησαμένων] ἀρετὰς κτησαμένων — 7 ἔστι τῇ πείρᾳ] ἐπὶ τὴν πεῖραν — 8 λογγίνω γίνεται — 10 οἷον τὴν ἀρετὴν σίμβλῳ — 13 ἀκήρατον] ἀνήρωτον — τῆς ἀρέτης om. — 14 τοῦτο om. — 15 ἔδει] ἤδει — 18-19 τῷ πατρὶ ... σταυροῦ] τοῦ πρ̄ς̄ μέχρι θανάτου γέγονεν — 22 τὴν ἄγουσαν — 26 περιφανείᾳ] ὑπερηφανείᾳ — πλουσιωτέρα.

P. 14, 1 τῇ om. — 4 ἰουβεναλίου om. — 5 αὐτὸν] αὐτοῦ — 6 ὡς ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις] παρὰ πᾶσιν — ἀπέλιπε ... πῦρ ἢ] om. — 7 μονομαχῆσαι — 8-9 τῷ κοινῷ ... κάτεισι] τὸν κοινὸν πάντων ἐχθρὸν ἡμῶν διάβολον παρεσκεύασεν — 10 ταῦτα· πρῶτον μὲν τὸ — 11 ἐπιθεῖναι] ἐπιθήσιν — 13 ὁρῶντες | f. 60ᵛ — 14 προβαίνειν — 18 ὀρεκτὸν] ὠρεκτικὸν — 20 οὗτος] τούτος — κατ'] μετ' — 21 τὰς] τῶν — 22 κατῴκισεν om. — 23 τοῦδε] τήνδε.

P. 15, 1 ἄγραφος τις — 2 ἐπιγενομένων — 3 κατεληλυθὼς] καταλελοιπὼς — 6 χρυσὸν — σμύρνα — 7 προσενεγκοντας — 8 κατεδέξατο — τούτους ἐκείνους — 10 εἰς] πρὸς — 12 ⟨τῆς⟩ om. — 13 πόλιν] πάλιν — ἔρχεσθαι — ὁδοῦ] τὴν ὁδὸν — 16 αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Βηθλεὲμ — μὴ om. — 17 ὅπερ καὶ ὁρῶμεν νῦν — 18 ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὁδευόντων — 23 φωστὴρ om. — 24 τῷ λόγῳ — f. 61ʳ.

P. 16, 1 τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνου τιθέναι — 2-3 παραδίδωσιν — 4 ταφῆναι λέγεται — 6 ὁ om. — 9-10 τὰ δὲ ... τὸν πρὸς] κατὰ — 13 τοὺς ἀποκειμένους — 14 ἐν καιρῷ ... ἐκείνῳ om. —

18-19 τῇ θείᾳ ἐλλάμψει — 19 θεὸς ὁρῶν] θεωρῶν — 20 κτήμασιν — 22-23 τῆς ἀγάπης ἔρωτι.

P. 17, 1-2 ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης — 3 τὰς ἐκ θυ συνεργείας — 6 οὖν — 9-10 ἠγωνίζετο — 10 καθαρὰ om. — 11 le 2me τὸν om. — πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν — 13 τοῦ om. — 15 ἐκεῖνος | f. 61v — 16 ὑπερεχόντων — 19 δέοι.

P. 18, 2 ὅσον] ὅσιον — 3 ἦν om. — 7 τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν] τὸ εἰς χν εὐθέως — 9 ἡγεῖτο] ἤγετο εἶναι — 16 τὴν] τῆς — 17 ἐφ οὓς διά τε τὴν — 21 ὀξὺν — 24-25 εὑρικὼς κατάστασιν.

P. 19, 1 βιωτικοῦ | f. 62r — 1-2 κατεφρόνει — 2 ὡς om. — 7 ὑπανέστηκεν — 9 τροφὴν — ἡ ὄρεξις — 12 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τροφὴν — 13, 2me τὴν] τη — 14 ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ — 16 τὴν φωνὴν τὴν — 19-21 καὶ ἔσται ... καιρῷ αὐτοῦ] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ — 23 δὲ] μὲν — 24 ἕως μὲν ὁτᾶν — 25 φοίνικας.

P. 20, 7 τῇ om. — 12 προσβολὴν ἀργὴν ἐν — 14 ὁ μιαρὸς om. — ἐπιτίθεται | f. 61v — 19 μακάριος οὖν οὗτος καὶ — μετὰ] μὲν — 21 ἀπεκρούετο στάσει τὰς ἡδονὰς τοῦ σώματος ταύτην δὲ — 26 χρόνῳ τε βεβαιουμένου om.

P. 21, 1 εἰ om. — 12 ἑκάστῳ — τῶν πλησίων — 17, 2me τοῦ] τὸ — 20 ἐπέτρεπε — 22 ἐκ τούτου τῷ] πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ — 25 τούτο πε|f. 62r.

P. 22, 1-2 τοῖς πνευματικοῖς γὰρ τῆς διανοίας — 5 παντὸς πράγματος — 9 φέρειν om. — 15 τῆς om. — καὶ καθάπερ — 21 δὲ τούτου τοῦ τάφου ἐγκαινιαστὴς — 24 ἕβδομα] τὰ ἔνατα — 25 τὰ τεσσεραποστὰ — 26 τὴν τεσσαρακοντήμερον περαίωσιν — 26-27 προσομιλήσας vient après πυρετῷ.

P. 23, 3 ὕπνωσεν (ν gratté, comme souvent) — 4 ἐκδιμήσας — 5 ἐνθέδε — 8 γὰρ om. — τεσσαράκοντα — 10 τῆς ἐ|f. 63v — 14 τούτου om. — 19 διδάσκαλον — 21 ἐπελθούσης δὲ — 22 τῶν μ ἡμερῶν] τὸ τεσσαρακονταήμερον — 23 αὐτῶν om. — 24 καὶ θεωρεῖ.

P. 24, 5 ἀφήσας] ἀφίεις — 6 με et ἐνθάδε om. — 7-8 πῶς ἂν ἐμφανέστερον] ἡ — 11 δηλαδὴ om. — 12 ἀποτελοῦσα —

15 τῶν τοῦ κυ ἐντολῶν — 18 μικρὸν — 21 ὧδε] οὕτως — 22 θαυμα|f. 64r — θαυματουργὸν — 23 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου — 24 καὶ ἑορτὴ om. — ἡ om. — 25 λέγων — 26 μὴν om.

P. 25, 1 τῆς ὄντως ἀναστάσεως om. — 3 ἐπὶ θύρας οὔσης — 8 ⟨οὖν⟩ om. — 10 ἤδη om. — 11 διακυβερνῶν — θεὸν — 12 τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς οὐδὲ μίαν — 15 εἶναι ἀληθῶς θεοῦ — 18 ἕνεκεν πεποιήκει καὶ — 22 καταλαβόντα — 24 ὡς] ὥσπερ γὰρ — 26 τῷ après αὐτῷ.

P. 26, 1 προθεωρῆσαι μέλλων — 1-2 σφόδρα τῆς] σφοδροτάτης — 2-3 ποιήσασθαι προσέταξε — 4 φησι | f. 64v — 5 τὰς τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἐν ἐρήμῳ πρότερον — 5-6 εἶθ' ὕστερον] καὶ — 7 κἂν νῦν om. — 8 τὸν ἐντὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐκτὸς ἡμῶν — 15 οὗτος om. — 16 ἐφάνη] εὑρέθη — 18 τοῦ om. — 21-22 προσηνεχθησωμένη οὐ μεθ' οὐ πολὺ θαυμασία προσφόρα οὗτοι — 24 διὰ τῶν ἔργων θεοπνεύστων αὐτῷ προσευχῶν — 26 ἡ χάρις.

P. 27, 2 δὲ om. — 6 δοτῆρα ἐκτενῶς — 8 πρὸς] παρὰ — 9 τῶν om. — 12 οἵτινες διδόντες — 13 τριμήτι| f. 65r — 14 παρωραθέντα — 15 αὐτὸς om. — ἐπιλησθέντες ἢ] ἐπιλισθέντι — 18 τὸ αὐτῷ — 21 εἶχον] ἔχων.

P. 28, 1 ἐπίστευσε — 2 τῷ χῷ — 3 γνῶμεν ὅσον ἰσχυροτέρα] γενόμενος ὢν ἰσχυτέρα — 5 καὶ ὅτι — 9 εὐλογίαν ἐπὶ τὸ μοναστήριον ἐπικομιζόμενος — 10-11 τούτου τὸ κτίνος οὐ πρὸσεχώρει — 11 ἐπήγετο — 15 τὸν τρόπον τῆς θείας κηδεμονίας — 16 αὐτοὺς om. — 17 εἰς ὤφελον — 17-18 παρ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον διδόντος διπλοῦν — 18 κἀκ τούτου] καὶ τοῦτο — 20 τελείαν om. — 21 καὶ om. — 24 πατέρες avant λίαν — 27 ὁδοῦ om. — κα| f. 65v.

P. 29, 2-3 πάσης ... πρῶτον] τῶν — 11 θεῷ] θεὸν — 13 ἐδίσταζε] ἐδικάζετο — 14 ἐγκατέρω — 17 χεῖραν — 21, 1er ἐν om. — 22 ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν — 23 ἡγεῖτο τὸ κατουρ, θη en interligne — 24-25 ὧν avant ἐν πολλαῖς.

P. 30, 1 πληθὺν — 6 οἰκέτης — 8 προφητεία — 11 λα|

f. 66r — δὲ οὖν om. — 12 τὸ] τε — 18 ἐλευθερώσαντα — 20 εἶτα ... ἀποκαταστήσας] ἢ πάλιν ἀπεκατέστησας — 21 ἧς διαίματος ποταμιαῖον — 22 μετεποίησας — γεδαιῶ — 24 ὧς ζωῆς.

P. 31, 1 προσθήκῃ] πρὸς θ̄ ἠσκεῖ — 7 τε om. — χίδακας — 9 κε ὁ θεὸς — 10 ἦ] ἰεῖ — ὠκοδομῆσαι — 11 με om. — ἅμα] καὶ — καταγώγιον — 18 οὕσπερ ὡς ωέτω — 19 ἤδει] εἶναι — περιεῖ — 20 κουτηλᾶ — ἀσφαλτίδος — 23 πίστεως | f. 66v — 24 κατὰ δὲ τὸ σπήλαιον.

P. 32, 2 πεποιηκὼς — τῇ τε — 3 ἐνεργία — τὸ om. (avant πρὸς, il y a un mot de 3 ou 4 lettres gratté) — 8 εἰς ἑκατὸν καταδεξάμενοι — 11 ποῖ] ποῦ — ὃν om. — 13 προβαίνειν] ἐπηγόμενον — τοῦ παρόντος θαύματος — 15 κακεῖνω — 16 ἐξετάζοντι — 17 ἐπιτεθῆναι] εἶναι τὸ — 19 κατέπληξεν ἀγαπητοί — 20 ἀγαπητοί om. — τὸν] τὸ — 23 τε om. — διδασκάλους — 24 δὴ] δὲ.

P. 33, 1 τούτων λεγομένων τοιόνδε ἔστιν ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰς — 2 τῷ πάντων om. — 3 δεσπότῃ] τῷ θεῷ — 4 παρέχει] ἐπετέθη — 6 τοῦ πυρὸς après ἐξεδέχετο — 8 γεγωνὸς | f. 67r — 9 ἐκ] καὶ — 10 τῶν τόπων om. — 11 ἀναφθῆναι — 12-13 πεποίητο — 14 εὗρε θαυματουργὸν om. — ἐλιτάνευσεν — 18 θεμελίου — 19 ἐπέλθω — 22-23 τῆς πρώτης — 24 τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν — 25 ὡς ἑαυτῷ — 26 ἐν ταύτῃ] ἐνταῦθα.

P. 34, 2-3 οὐ ... προχεόμενος] εὐλόγως ἐκεῖ πρὸς ἐρχόμεμενος — 4 ἡ om. — 5 τε om. — 12 τὰ πρὸς ἀναγκαῖα — 13 χρείαν] τῶν χρειῶν — 14 τὸ] τὰ — ἀδιάφορα — 16 χορηγοῦντα καὶ ἄλλων — 18 ἐν τῇ ἀνισότητι — 21 ξένων | f. 67v.

P. 35, 3-4 δὴ ... ἡμῖν om. — 12 ἐγένετο — 13 ἐλεεινῶς et εὔσπλαγχνος om. — 14 τῶν τυφλῶν ὄφθαλμος πούς χωλῶν ἀστέγων — 15 δὲ om. — καὶ om. — 19 οὐκ] οὐδ' — 20 τὴν] τῆς.

P. 36, 5 τῆς παραμυθίας — 8-9 κατήντων ... λιμένι] καὶ τὸ τούτου λιμένι κατέφευγον — 11 πολὺ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον]

μικροῦ πλέων ἢ ἐλάττω — 11-12 τῆς ἡμέρας] τὴν ἡμέραν γίνεσθαι — 13 ἐκ om. — 13-14 ἠξιοῦντο παραψυχῆς] ἐλάμβανων — 15-16 τὸ τότε ... παρεχόμενον] τὸ τὲ θαῦμα γενόμενον πρὸς δόξαν θεοῦ | f. 69r — 17 τότε τῷ ... ἁπάντων] τῶ τότε χρόνῳ ἐπικρατούστης καὶ πάντων — 23 τότε om.

P. 37, 2 δεδιόντες — 4 ἀρκέσουσιν — 4-5 ἄρτοις — 6 ἡ ἐκ ... ἑκάστῳ] ὁ στάθμος ἡ ἑκάστου — 7-8 ἐπέστη ... ἄνθροπος] ἐγνώσθη δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη βουλὴ τῶ ἁγίω — 9 συνῆκτο] συνήχθη — 10 πυλῶνος καὶ — 14 τοῦ πατρὸς om. — 16 εἰσφέροντες — 17 ἕκαστον — 20 ηὗρον] εὗρων — 22 συνέστησιν ὁ θεὸς — 23 αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ — 26 θεὸν] θεῶ.

P. 38, 2 τὸ om. — πρὸς παθὲς | f. 69v — 6 τοῦ] τὸ — 7 τοῦ] τὸ — 9 τη περιουσία — 11 πιστώσωμεν — 14 συναθροισθέντων — 19 ἑκάστου — 20-21 ὥστε ... ἀδελφῶν] καὶ τῶν — 23 τούτοις om.

P. 39, 4-5 συναναφερόμενος — 7 εἰς ποτὸν] εἰς τὸ πότιμον — 8-9 ἐμφορισθῆναι — 12 παρεχομένους — 13 τὸ νῦν] τὸ τοίνυν — 15 παραδόξως — 18 τούτων οἱ | f. 70r — τοῦτο] τούτων — 23 τῆς πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπης εἴρηται — 25 ἐκκαθάρεται.

P. 40, 12 τοῖς ἀζύγοις καὶ] τοῖς μοναχοῖς καὶ τοῖς — διὰ χν avant σταυρωθεῖσιν — 18-26 ἐδιάζον ... ἀνορθουμένου] καὶ πάντων τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο καταλλήλου τῶν παθῶν ἐπιμελίας ἐπανορθούμενος — 25 ὑπ' αὐτὸν] αὐτῶ.

P. 41, 2 ἀφῄρηται — οὐ om. — 4 ὠκοδομήσας — 5 ἀκολούθως — δεδωκέναι — 6-7 τί δὲ ... αὐτῷ] τί δὲ λέγειν περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεριχῶ παρ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενον — 11 νῦν om. — τῷ κυρίῳ om. — 12 τῶν κατὰ χν ... γεννηθέντων] αὐτῆς — 14 φι | f. 70v — 16 μὴ κατὰ χν om. — 25-26 τὸν νοῦν ... λογισμοῖς om.

P. 42, 1 ἀσμένως ὑπεδέχετο] μετὰ χαρᾶς ὑποδέχεται — 3 οἷον — 4 τοῦ χριστοῦ — 4-6 γίνεσθε ... ἐστίν] om. — 8 τὸ om. — 8-9 τῷ τε πλήθει om. — 12-13 ἅτε ... πυρού-

μενος] om. — 13-14 νήφοντας καταλαμβάνων om. — 20-21 κατὰ ... δεῖ] om. — 22-23 τοὺς νόμους τοῦ θεοῦ — 23 γίνεσθαι — 25 ἢ τοῖς semble avoir été écrit deux fois; 1re fois gratté — 25-43, 1 φοβεροῖς ... κριτηρίοις] αἰωνίοις παραδοθῆναι κολάσεσιν.

P. 43, 1 ἐνταῦθα παθόντες — 1-3 ὃ τοῦ ... βάσανος om. — 5 τῆς ... ὕλυος] ἡμᾶς — 6-8 ἐπαγομένων ... σύμβολον] θλίψεως — 10 εἰ γὰρ ... οὐδὲν] οὐ δυνατὸν | f. 71r — 13 χωρὶς] ἄνευ — 13-14 εὐδοκίας εὐλαμῶς δείξωμεν οὖν — 16 τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς παθόντι — 17 καρπὸν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι — 18-19 ἑαυτοῖς ἐλπίδαν — 19 προσδοκουμένης — 20 ἡ devant ταλαιπωρία — 21 πάντας — 23 ἴδιον κατὰ comme L — δεχομένους.

P, 44, 1 χαίροντας — 2 ἀδιαλείπτως om. — 4 πάντας μὲν — 7 τὰ] τι — 8 ἐπαιδαγώγει — 11 ἀνδρείας — 15 καὶ περ ... τοιαῦτα om. — 16 ἑξῆς ... ἀφήγησιν] ἐξίγησιν τῶν κατορθωμάτων αὐτοῦ — 18 τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων om. — 19 ψαλμῳδίας] ὑμνωδίας — καὶ ... ἑτέραις] καὶ τῆς ἐν ἑτέρας καὶ ἑτέραις — 22 ταῦθα — 24 ὥσπερ | f. 71v — κρούσματι — 26-27 τέλειός τις om.

P. 45, 1 ἢ om. — 4 τῶν ὅλων om. — 5 κατασκευάσας — 6 τῇ ἑλληνίδι — 7 καθὼς — 8 θύειν — 9 βοσῶν — 10 ἐπεδίδουν — 12 κοινῷ om. — ταύτην] δόξαν — 16 ἀφιερουμένοις — 17-18 εἰς ὃ καὶ γεγόνασιν] κλινον (τ écrit au-dessus de ον) γόνυ — 19 ἐπετελήτω — 20-21 τὸ ... ποιητήν om. — 24 ἕκαστοι ἁγίᾳ ποιούμενοι] ἕκαστος ἐποιήτω — 25 οὕτως ἅπαντες om. — δαιμονούντων.

P. 46, 2 κακεῖ — 5 τούτου — 6-7 τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰληφὸς om. — 9 ὑπερβάλλειν] ὑπὲρ — 11 ἡμῶν | f. 72r — ἀναλύσεως] ἀλλοιώσεως — 13 δεῖ] δὲ — 13-14 ἀσπάζοντας — 16 ἔχω — 16-19 τῶν ... παρακπέμψομαι om. — 21-23 ὡς ... πατρός] om. — 24 συστήματι θείως βεβιωκότας] om.

P. 47, 3 δεήσοι ἂν ἀπονεῖμαι] γενομένην — 5 τὸν ... ζυγὸν — 5-6 τὸν ποτὲ ... αὐχένα] ἀνεδέξαντο — 9-11 ὡς ...

χριστός] om. — 13 ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁσίως] ὁ ὅσιος — 13-14 πρῶτος δεξάμενος om. — 15, 2me λόγῳ om. — 16 ἡρτυμένον — αὐτομένω — 16-17 καὶ διικνουμένω ... κινημάτων om. — 19 ἐν om. — 21 ἐπιβάλλων τῇ — 22 τὸν νοσοῦντα — 23 τὸ] τὸν — ἀφεθῇ] ὠφθῆναι — 23 — 48, 3 τίς γὰρ ... ἀντιτείνοντας om.

P. 48, 5 ἐπεμίσγετο] ὡς ἦν αὐτὸς — 6 ἐν] μὲν — 7 ἐνπραττον — 10 ἐπανάγων — 12-13 τῶν ... ἐντεύξεις] ἐντεύξεις τὰς πρὸς θν νύκτωρ | f. 72v τε καὶ ἡμέραν — 13 περικεκλεισμένου — 14 κατανοούντι — 17 τὰ] τῇ — 17-18 ὡς ... ἐναντία] om. — 19 τι] τὸ — 20 πολιτείας] πολιὰς — 21 ᾗ προσανέχων] ἐν ὧ — 25 καταπονεῖσθαι — ⟨ἀεὶ⟩ om.

P. 49, 1 τῆς] τῇ τι — 7 ἤτοι] παρ' αὐτοῦ — διευθύνεσθαι — 7-8 πεπιστευμένους ... βουλόμενος om. — 11-15 αὔξησις ... καιρός om. — 17 πειρώμενος — 18 πρὸς ἑαυτὸν om. — 20-22 ἡμεῖς δὲ ... θαυμάσομεν om. — 24 διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ om.

P. 50, 2-5 οὐκ ... καταισχύνοντα om. — 6-7 τοῦ χυ après τὴν ἀνάστασιν — 7 καὶ διὰ π. — 9 ταύτῃ — 10 ἡμῶν | f. 73r — ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου] ἀπολόγους — 11 πάντως om. — προσῆγε] παρῆγεν — 14-15 τοῦ ... δόγμασιν] om. — 16-20 τῶν ... ὑποκρίσεως] ἐποιήτω τῶν διατάξεων διδάσκων.

P. 51, 2 προλαβόντος] παρόντος — 6 προέμενοι — 9 τῶν om. — 11 μετακλαίωμεν] κλαίοντες — 12 παροραθέντα] παρὰ τὰ θέντα — 13 τοῖς μεταμελομένοις] τότε τοῖς μεταμελουμένοις — 15 ἐκεῖνος ὁ αἰὼν τῆς.

P. 52, 2 μακροθυμίας — 3 οἱ μὲν εἰς — 5 ἀπολάυει — τὰς πράξεις — 6-9 τὴν ὑπακοὴν ... ἀνακαλεσόμεθα] om. — 10 πῶς ἐν ὁ | f. 73v — 16 γέενναν — 16-17 βρυγμὸς δὲ] καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς — 17 ἡμεῖς δὲ βασιλείας] ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ βασιλείαν.

P. 53, 2 ὅτε] ὅτι — 4 ὅσα δεῖ — 7 ἀνοικοδομοῦντα — 15 ζῆλον ἐκείνου — 16-18 πάντα μὲν ... λυσιτελέστερον] om. — 20 οὐ om. — 21 διὰ τοῦ — 22 τὸν] τοῦ.

P. 54, 2 παρά | f. 74r — 2-3 κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον] κατα-

φαινώμενος — 4 τε καὶ γενόμενον om. — 5 ἀποπέμψωμεν — 7 ἄλλω — 8 συντεθημένος — 9-11 ἵνα ... φωραθείη om. — 14 παρὰ om. — 15 καταβαλεῖν — 17 συμφορᾶ — 18 οὖν om. — 19 τὸν om.

P. 55, 1 πείθεσθαι — τριάκοντα λίτρας — 2 χρυσίου πέμψας αὐτῶ ὑπ. — 5 ταῦτα — 6 ἐπισύρειν — 12-13 μιμησάμενος ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ — 14 δὲ om. — 16 διαδείξας] διδάξας — 18 ἔχειν — 19 ἐπὶ τούτῳ om. — 20 πάντων — 21 τὴν] τῇ — 23 συνελθοῦσα | f. 74ᵛ — 24 ἐπιθεῖσα] τιθεῖσα.

P. 56, 3 ὡς λέων om. — τὴν — 4 ἀγάπην — 5 ἕνα πάντας] ἓν — ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ — 6 ⟨τοῦ⟩ τὸ om. — 11 μηνύει — 12 τῆσδε τῆς χώρας] τὴν χώραν — 14 γνῶμεν — 14-62, 2 ὅπως ... ἔμετον] τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου σάββα δηλούσης κατὰ μέρος τὸ ἄνδρειον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀρθόδοξον.

P. 62, 2 πάλιν om. — 3-4 ὁ μετὰ ... προαιρέσεις] om. — 5 οἱ ἄνοι — 6 ἄριστος — 9 παρουσίας — 10 ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ — 16 προσεδρεύοντες — αὐτοῦ om. — 17-18 ὡς ... ἁγίας] τὰς — 19 après συνόδους B ajoute : ὡς τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια — 22 περιει.

P. 63, 2 ἠκονημένων] κενουμένων πρῶν — 4 ὁ πρῶ | f. 75ʳ — 8 ἐκκλησίας] ἀληθείας — γὰρ ἕκαστον — 14-16 φύσει ... αὐτός] om. — 17 εἰ δὲ φύσει] φύσιν — 18 καὶ φύσιν — 25 ἀμφοτέρας — 27-64, 1 τῷ ... συναίρεσιν om.

P. 64, 3 τὸν ἕνα τέμνουσα χν τητε — εὐτυχαίαν — 4 καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ — 7 ἕκαστος ὁ μὲν — 9 ἐπεπτώκει — ⟨τὸ⟩ om. — 14 καὶ δύο om. — 18 μόνῳ — τὸ om. — 19 ἰουδαϊκῶς — ἐπιπίπτων — 20 ἀναμφιβόλῳ — θείου | f. 75ᵛ — 21 ἀνδρῶν θεοσεβῶν — 22 κηρύττοντες.

P. 65, 4-5 ὁ νῦν ... συνήγορος] om. — 6 κακὸν] κακῶ — 7 ἐνεπάγησαν] ἐνέπεσον — 9 συνεχθεῖσας — 12 ἀποτολμᾶ — 13 ὁμολογημένως — 15 ἀρνοῦντες — 17 γεγενημένην — 19 ⟨φύσις αἱ δύο⟩ om. — 20 ἀπειργάσατο — 21 ἀλλήλα — 24 ⟨τὸ⟩ om.

P. 66, 2 ἡ om. — 3 κατὰ om. — 3-4 φαντασία — 6 ὑπομεμενήκει — 8 τούτους — 11 τοῦ χυ — 13 τὸ γὰρ | f. 76r — 16 ἀσυγχύτως καὶ ἀτρέπτως καὶ — 19 τοῦ om. — 21 τῶν χρόνων — 22 παναγίας — 23 διδάσκουσα] παρνου.

P. 67, 1 φύσιν — ἀμήτωρ — 2 ἀπατὼρ — εἶναι om. — 3 τῇ om. — 4 τῇ] τὸ — 5-6 μονογενὴν — 9 τῆς κτίσεως — 11 οἱ] ὅσους — ἀγεννηθέντος — 12 καὶ καινὴ — αὐτὸς] αὐτοῖς — 13 ἀπήρξατο γεννήσεως] καὶ καινὴ κτίσις ἐχρημάτησαν — 15 αὐτὸς om. — 16-17 ὁμολογοῦνται — 21 διαιρεῖσθαι — 22-23 ὅτι περ οὕτω δύο φάσκων φύσεις.

P. 68, 5 λέγοντες | f. 76v — τὴν ἀληθείαν — 10 ἄρα εἰπέ μοι om. — 12 οὐ] οἱ — 14 ἀποτελεσασῶν] ἀποτελέσας σῶον — 15-16 καὶ θεὸν om. — 17 ἅπ. ἅγιοι πρες — 20 δεῖ] ἂν — λέγειν ἐπιχειρῶ — 24 πίστεως ταῦτα.

P. 69, 3 γε om. — 4 σὲ] καὶ — 6 ἐλόμενον ψῆφον — 14-15 ταῦτα — 17 ***] προεστώτας — 20 ἀποστολικὸν | f. 77r — τηνικαῦτα om. — διέποντα — 20-21 ἀγάπιον.

P. 70, 2 ὁμολόγησαν — 3 τῆς καρδίας — 3-4 ἐμυσάττετο] ἐβδελύσετο — 9 βόρβορος — 11 φέρων — 13 τὰ δι' — 15 εἰδέναι om. — 16 κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα om. — 22 καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν.

P. 71, 2 καθεζομενων — 5 en marge α' — 6 μασθὸν — 10 πρων | f. 77v — γεναμένη χοροῦ] χοροῦ ἐλθοῦσα — οὐ om. — 17 ἐπιζητεῖς — 18 μαθὼν τε] καὶ μαθὼν — 21 δὲ om. — 23 χρώαν — αὐτοῦ] τοῦ ὁσίου — κουκούλιον — 24-25 ἐγνωκυῖα γυνὴ] γυνὴ γνωρίσασα.

P. 72, 1 τοῦ κρασπέδου — 3 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνενδοιάστου om. — 6 εἰρημένον πεποίηκεν — 13, 1er ὁ omis — 14 θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος — 19-20 γενόμενον — 22 ὦ ῥά| f. 78r — 22-24 τῷ ... ῥάκους om. — 25 ἐξισούμενον — 27 ἀκουέτωσαν.

P. 73, 2 καθυβρίζωμεν — 5 ἀνθρώπου] θεοῦ — 9-10 συναπολαύσομαι — 10 τοῦ θεοῦ — 11 καταξιωθῶμεν οἰκτιρμοῖς om. —

13-14 ὡς ... χρηστῶν] ὥσπερ ἐν λιμῶνι — 15 οὖν om. — 17 γὰρ om. — 18-20 κατὰ ... θεοδότιος] ἐπανερχομένου τοῦ ὁσίου πρς ἡμῶν θεοδοσίου ἐπὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον μοναστήριον et en marge β' — 21 ὁ ... κύριος] ὁ κς ἡμῶν ις χ — 23 ἀποδοὺς.

P. 74, 2 καλεῖται] ἐκάλει — 5 γενομένου — 6 παραθέντος — 7 ἄρτου — 8 προσέταξεν — 9 ἐφέρετο — 10 τούτους προσθῆναι — τούτων δὲ | f. 78ᵛ — 10-11 μετειληφότες — 11 καθ' ἡσυχίαν] τη κατ' ἡ συνηχία — 13 οὗτοι] οὐκ — 16 δὲ ἐν — 18 χεῖραν — μακάριος καὶ om. — 20 καὶ om. — 21 ἔχειν σῖτον — 23 ταῖς χερσὶν — 25 ταμείω.

P. 75, 3 τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρεῖον] μοναστήριον — 4 μετὰ τὴν] μεστὴν — ⟨ἀπόθεσιν⟩ om. — 5 ⟨πλήρη σίτου⟩ om. — 6 θεωρήσας om. — ἀποθήκην εὗρεν — ἕνα δὲ — 8 τάχειον — 11 ψυχῆς — 14 ὥστε] ὥσπερ — 15 ἀνεῷξαι θύρας] θύρας ἤνοιξας — 17-18 διὰ τοῦ παρασχεθέντος παρὰ σοῦ εὐλογηθέντος κόκκου τοῦ δὲ — 20 ἔρρεπεν] ἔβλεπεν — 23 πεποιη| f. 79ʳ.

P. 76, 1 μεταλάξας — 2 ὑποσπαθεῖ ψηφῆς — ἀφόρητος — 3 τυγχάνει] ὑπάρχει — 4 ὑπανοιγεισῶν] ἐπανυγέντων — προεχεῖτο — 13 ⟨δὲ⟩ om. — πυροῦ] σίτου — 19 τοὺς om. — 20 τοὺς ... κορέσαντας] τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἄνδρας κορέσαντος — 22-77, 3 οἱ ... φωνή] om.

P. 77, 4 τοῦ om. — ἃς om. — 5 ἡ] ἃ ἡ — 9 ἔσεβε τὸ — 10-11 ἐθαύμαζε après Μωυσῆν — 11 τοιόνδε] τοιουτονδε — 14 εἰπὼν] εἴπω — 14-16 ⟨τί⟩ ... ἀρχαῖς] om. — 18 τῶν | f. 79ᵛ — en face de εὐτχημόνων, dans la marge, chiffre γ' — ἐν om. — 20 τοῦ τῆδε om. — 21 αὐτοῦ — 22 ἀνέκραξεν — 24 préfixe δια om. — γενωμένη.

P. 78, 3 τῶν ἐν ποσὶν] τοῖς πεσὶν — ici en marge δ' — 4-5 ἐπικλαιομένω — 6 καλως] καὶ ὡς — 6-7 ἀνημήστθαι — 16 περιήειν ... ἐρήμους] ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως — τοῦ] ἐκ — 18 καὶ τοῦτο — νῦν om. — ἀπὸ τοῦ — 19-20 τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ après παιδὶ — 24 θεραπείαν ἐποιῆτο — 25 ἑτέρω — 26 διηγήσομαι] θαῦμα διηγησόμεθα.

P. 79, 3 συνάπτοντος αὐτῆ — 5 εὗρεν — 6 ἐπιθεῖσασα — 7 τοῦ | f. 80r — 12-13 τῆς... ὀδυρομένη om. — chiffre ε' — 15 οἰκοδομῆς — après διαφθορᾶς, B ajoute : 18 καὶ τί δὲ λέγειν — 20 διαχεῖται] διαδέχεται — 21 πρὸς] εἰς — 22 ἀναβαίνοντα — τῇ om. — 23 φορᾶ] διαφθορᾶ — 25 ὡς ὁ ναύτης] ὡς αὐτῆς.

P. 80, 1 chiffre ϛ' — 2 ὁ οὕτως] οὗ ὁ ὅσιος — βαθὺ — 3 τόπου εἰς τόπον — 5 παρακαλούμενος — 13 τε] δὲ — ⟨ἕνα⟩ om. — 15 ὡς καὶ — ὑπάρχωμεν — 20 μηδαμῶς] μηδενὸς — 20-21 λυμαινόμενοι — 22 τούτου τοῦ — και| f. 80v — chiffre ζ' — καιρῷ] καιροῦ — 23 στρατοπεδείας] παιδίας — εἰς τὴν γῆν.

P. 81, 3 ἐκ τῆς τούτων ajouté devant διαφθορᾶς — 4 chiffre η' — 5 ἐσθήματα] ἐνδύματα — 7 ὅθεν] πόθεν — 9 μεριμνᾶται περὶ τὴν — 12 χρυσίνους] χρυσοὺς — 15 τὸν] τὸ — 17 θρόνω — 18 τῇ om. — 19 περὶ ... γνώμῃ] τῇ πίστει σκαίω γνώμη — 19-20 ἐξορίαν ... τὰ] ἐξορία κατεδικάσθη καὶ — 21 χῷ — 23 πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια om.

P. 82, 1 ἁγίαις] ἐκκλησίαις — 2 ἐκκλησίαις om. — 4 βοστρινῶν — 8 εἰς κακίαν — 10 θα| f. 80r — 11 ἀντηλλάξατο — 13 τῷ] τὸν — 15 οἳ ⟨τὴν⟩] οἵτινες τὴν — 16 Σευήρου τοῦ ματαιόφρονος] ματοιόφρονος Σευήρου — 17 κνίσμα καὶ ἔριν] κνήμας (μας *in ras.*) — μακαρίων ἐκείνων — 19 ἐρωτήσαντος — 23 διιππεύσαντος] διελθόντος.

P. 83, 1 νύκτωρ ἐπελθὸν πλῆθος] πλῆθος ἐπελθόντων νυκτὸς — 2 ἐνέπρησαν — 3 πλεῖον — 4 λαβόντας τῶν μοναχῶν — ἰδεῖν νῦν — 5 ἀροσίμειον — 7 πλεῖστον] πλείονα τὸν — 10 ἅτε φιλόχριστος] τε — 12 ἄνθρωπον ἀφικνεῖται — 13 τῇ ψυχῇ — 16 γὰρ] τὰ — 17 μηδὲ] μήται — 20 τινα] τι — 21 ἀμφιασάμενον — 24 ἔσεσθαι | f. 80v — 25 τοῦτο — 26 τρίβον] ὁδὸν — μεθ' οὗ.

P. 84, 3 ἁγίοις] τίοις (T majuscule rouge en marge, ajoutée fautivement) — 9 γεγενημένην σίαν — ἀφηγησά-

μενος — τρόπον om. — 17 γηγενὴς ἀναρριπισθεῖσα] γεγεννημένης — 18 γοῦν] οὖν — 19 ἑωροῦν — τιμίαν καὶ θεοφιλεῖ — 20 δεικνύοντα — 21 μὲν] ὑπ' ἐμὲ — ⟨δὲ⟩ om.

P. 85, 1 οὖν] ὁ — τοῦ Ναυὴ om. — 3 ἄρσεως] ἐκστάσεως — 4 ἐκτυπουμένου — ἁμαλὶκ — 4-5 μάλα ... λαὸν] ἐτρωπώσατο — 9 καταλαβὼν] καταβάλλων — 11 κοινω| f. 81ʳ — 12-13 ⟨σωτηρίας⟩ om. — 13 κουροβῆ — 14 ἀντικουρόβην — 16 ἐποχή] ἀνοχὴ — 22 ἀδελφοὶ — ἐκινδύνευον — καὶ τὰς — 23 ἐπικαλεσάμενοι.

P. 86, 6 προσηγορία ταύτη γὰρ δυσωπῶν τὸν θήραν τοῦ κτήνους ἀπώσατο καὶ — 10 τὴν θέαν παραλαβόντες — 18 οἰονεὶ — 19 κατατοξεύειν — 20 ** προτρεπομένης] τροπωσάμενος — 23 τῇ πνευματικὶ — ταύτην om. — 24 λειτουργία — τούτου δὲ — γεγεννημένου — 25 προσταχθὲν ἐκπληροῦν — 26 ἀωρία | f. 81ᵛ.

P. 87, 5 ἡ om. — ἄνεισι] ἀνίη ἡ — 8 μάλα] μᾶλλον — 10 ἐκ om. — 12 τηλαυγὸς — τὰς om. — 13 εἰσδεχόμενον — 14-16 καθαρότητος ... καρδίᾳ] om. — 17 ἀγόρευσις] παρουσία — 20 ἐπεπτώκει — 21 ἔκπωσιν — 24 ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις] προεωράκει οὕτως ἐν τοιούτοις προφητικοῖς χαρίσμασιν.

P. 88, 1 ἐδίωκεν] διώκων — 4 τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ — 6 τούτω — 11 διδάσκαλον | f. 82ʳ — 12 ἀντιημύνατο — 15 αὐτοῦ om. — 18-19 ἀνδρεῖος ... ἁμαρτάνοντας om. — 22 δὲ Ἀβραὰμ] Ἀβραὰμ γὰρ — τὸ] τοῦ — 23 τῆς om. — 24 καὶ τῆς om. — 26 οὔτε] οὐδὲ — 27 συμπάσχων] σύμμαχος.

P. 89, 1 πατὴρ καὶ] om. — 5 ἁγίαν om. — 7 ἂν om. — 9 δὲ om. — 12 ἑαυτὸν] αὐτὸν — 16 γενναίως] γενναίου σὺν τοῖς δεινοῖς — 18 τοῦ] τὸ — 18-19 γέγονεν ... πάσχειν om. — 20 ἡμῖν — 22-23 χρὴ ... σαρκὸς] γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ τῆς ζωῆς — 26 συνεπιτιθέ| f. 82ᵛ — 27 σκοπεῖτε ... ὅσον om.

P. 90, 3 δερματίνης — 4 ὑ. σκέπης οὐδὲν — 8-9 ἀρρωστίας ταύτης — 9 καὶ παρέξει σοι] δοῦναι σοι ὁ — αἰτήσεως — 9-10 πολλαχῶς — 10 ἐναργῶς om. — ἐπακούσας ὁ δὲ —

11 τούτου après μου — μοι] μου — 13 τοῦ om. — 16-18 καὶ ... σου] om. — 22 τὸ om. — 25-91, 1 μηδὲ... λειτουργίας] om.

P. 91, 2 διαναστάντα — 3 καὶ om. — 6 προσρήσεις — 7 ὧν τὴν ἁλ. — 9 ἐμπνέον — περιστὰν ἅπαν] τελευτὰν παρίσταντο αὐτὸν ἅπαν — 10 πλήρωμα] πλῆθος — 12 ὦ om. — 13 καὶ ἀδελφοὶ — 14 ἐπερχομένους | f. 83r — 17 γενωμένοις ἡγουμένους ἡμῶν — 22 αὐξάνοντα — 25 οὐ] οὐδὲ.

P. 92, 1-7 πρὸς... γένηται| πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν μαθητὴν ἐλισσαῖον — 9 δειλίας] δουλείας — 12 σου om. — βρύον] βρύειν — 13 γεγενημέναι] γενώμεναι — 15-93, 2 κατά ... στάσεως] om.

P. 93, 3 οὖν om. — 5 παύσεται ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προσευχόμενος — 6 ὑπο préfixe omis — 8 φέρουσιν — 12 υἱοῖς ἐπέσχετο — 15-16 ταῖς ... σαρκὶ] ὑπομείνωμεν ταῖς — 16 τῆς σαρκὸς ajouté après θλίψεσιν — ἐκεῖ — 17 ἀπεράντων om. — 18-22 κατὰ... τρέποντες] καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τῶν συγγενῶν ἡμῶν τῶν κατὰ σάρκα καὶ πᾶσαν ὁρμὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν εἰς πρὸς κν μετατιθῶμεν ἀγάπην τὴν δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ κίνησιν κατ' ἐκείνην τοῦ κυρίως τρέπειν σπουδάζοντος — 22 περὶ οὗ καὶ — 23 θήσω| f. 83v — μέσω.

P. 94, 1 ἀλλὰ ... ἀφήγησις] om. — 4 ὑπερέχοντος — 6 κηδεῦσαι — 7-8 ὡς μετ' αὐτὰς om. — 8 μέλλων — συνδέσμου] πολέμου — 9 μὲν ἅπασιν πρὸς — 10 εὐλογίας — 11 ὅτι om. — 12 κοινώνου — 13 ἀφηκέσθαι ἡμέρα — 16 πάντα — 18 τὰ] τὰς — 21 καθεὶς] θεὶς — 22 ἔτη δε ζήσας] ζήσας ἔτη — 23 μικρῶ πρὸς] μικρὸν — καὶ προσετέθη — 24, 1er τῶν om.

P. 95, 3 γὰρ ὁ κς — 4 τὴν τελευτὴν] τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ — βοῶντι — πρὸς χν om. — 5 παρρησίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς — τὸ] τῶν — 7 γεγονὸς] τὸ γεγονὼν — 8 μὲν om. — 12 μόνος οἶδεν — 12-13 φησὶν ... ἀπόστολος] μὴ — 16 καὶ τὴν εἰς ὃ | f. 84r — τιμὴν — 17 ταμιευσάμενος — 22 ἐρρωμένους om. — 22-23 ἀφίησιν — 23 τούτον — 25 ἐκεῖνος om.

P. 96, 1 προδιαλεγόμενος — 9 περὶ σὲ μεμένηκα om. — 10 après πίστεως, περιμένω — 13 θαυμαστὸς ... αὐτοῦ] om. — 14 συνεχούσης — αὐτὸν om. — 15 ἐκεῖνο om. — 16 τοῦ om. — 19 οὐρανῶν οὐ.

P. 97, 2 ⟨ἀκούσας⟩ om. — τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων — 3 διέπων] ἐπέχων — θρόνον ὁ — 4 οὗτος ἦν ὁ πανάριστος om. — 5 ἐξ ἑτέρων πόλεων om. — 7 τῆς om. — καταθέσια, 4 ou 5 lettres grattées, puis f. 84ᵛ — 9 τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ὁσίου — 15-16 ἐμπύρευμα] εὐπόρευμα — 16-17 διωσθέντων ὁ] διασωθὲν — 18 τελειωθείσης — 20 ἀναφανεὶς] ἀφανὴς.

P. 98, 1 σοι] τοι — 1-2 ἀναλύσαντι] ἀγωνισάμενος — 3 προσμείνας — 4-14 ὀδυρόμεθα ... ἀναρριπίζοντος] om. — 26 αὐτῶν om. — 28 δοκῶ δὲ νῦν] δοκήσωμεν οὖν — τὸν σεμνὸν — μετ' ἐκεῖνον om.

P. 99, 1 πράον καθηγεμόνα — 2 τῆς κατηφείας] τῶν λυπηρῶν — ἀνακαλουμένους — 3 πέρα] παρὰ — 5 τῶν] τὸ — 6 συνεστήκοντα — 8 καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ om. — τε om. — 9 ὄντος om. — κατὰ — 10 ἀρχὴν] ἀρχηγόν — 11 σύνεργον — 13 προθυ| f. 85ʳ — 14 κἂν ... ἀφόρητα] καταδεχόμενοι διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς — 15 δὴ οὖν τὸν] τὸ — καὶ τὴν — 18 τόπῳ — παρατάξεως] πράξεως — 19 τὴν — ἀλλήλων ὁμονοίαν.

P. 100, 2 ἡ om. — 3-4 τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ — 10-11 καὶ ... ἔμπαλιν] om. — 14 τοσούτον — 15 νῦν ἐνοῦται] ὦμεν — 17 ἀποθέντος — 18 γῆν εἰπόντα] εἰπόντα γῆ ἦν — 19 καταδικάσαντα om. — οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ — αὐτοῦ τούτου — 21 μετὰ σχηματισμοῦ — 22 κρεῖττον ἀναδεξομένου — καὶ συμμόρφου γενησομένου om.

P. 101, 1 οὕτως om. — 5 ὁδηγοῦντι] διέποντι — 5-6 ποιμένι ... διέποντι] om. — 7 τὴν προσηγορίαν — 8 συμποιμαίνοις] ποιμαίνης — 9 αὐτὸν — 10 τὸν om. — ⟨ὁδηγὸς⟩ γινόμενος] προνοούμενος — 11 προνοούμενοι — 12 νομὰς σὺν] ἡμᾶς ἐν — 13-15 ἡ δόξα ... ἀμήν] πρέπει δόξα κράτος τιμὴ

καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ πρι καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνι νῦν καὶ αεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αιώνων ἀμὴν.

Puis à l'encre rouge :

Χς παράσχου τοῖς ἐμοῖς πόνοις χάριν.

Bruxelles. — Imp. Polleunis et Centerick, rue des Ursulines, 37.

UNIVERSITÉ DE GAND

RECUEIL DE TRAVAUX

PUBLIÉS PAR

LA FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE ET LETTRES

24e FASCICULE

THE ENGLISH FAUST-BOOK OF 1592

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

H.º LOGEMAN Ph. D.

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GHENT.

GAND
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AMSTERDAM
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1900

BERGEN OP ZOOMSCHE

BOEK-, COURANT- & HANDELSDRUKKERIJ

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(NEDERLAND)

THE ENGLISH FAUST-BOOK OF 1592.

182479

RECUEIL DE TRAVAUX

PUBLIÉS PAR

LA FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE ET LETTRES
DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE GAND

EXTRAIT DU RÈGLEMENT.

Les travaux des professeurs, anciens professeurs, chargés de cours et anciens chargés de cours seront publiés sous la responsabilité personnelle de leurs auteurs.

Ceux des élèves et anciens élèves seront publiés en vertu d'une décision de la Faculté.

INTRODUCTION.

When, in the course of the year 1896, I had set to a closer study of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, it very soon became apparent that a reprint of the oldest extant edition of the poet's source: the English Faust Book[1]) of 1592, was urgently needed. Thoms' reprint of a later edition in his Early English Prose Romances is comparatively little accessible (especially on the continent) so much so that I have reason to suspect that two Faustus-students went by the extracts in Dyce's edition! — Moreover, what is worse: the edition that Thoms reprinted and of which the year of publication is not indicated, is not complete (chapter 60 of our text being omitted) and it presents quite a host of inferior readings as compared to the 1592 text. Being in London in the spring of 1897, I had begun to prepare the 1592 edition for publication, when I was given to understand that an American Lady, Miss H. A. Andrews of New York, was about to publish a *verbatim* reprint of our text. Having ascertained that this was really the case, I abandoned my plan and published

[1]) The full title will be found minutely reproduced lower down, at the end of the introductory matter. As by the nature of the case, this prose text had to be continually compared with the German source, usually referred to as the G(erman) F(aust) B(uch), — there seemed to be no reason why I should not here stick to the designation of the English Faust Book, adopted by me in my Faustus-Notes from Delius. The two titles allow of the convenient references: G. F. B. and E. F. B. Moreover this title has the immense advantage of necessarily causing the book to be entered, in all Library Catalogues, under Faust, the first substantive in the title. I occasionally also use the designation: Historie.

my *Faustus-Notes*, without incorporating the Historie into that work as had been my plan and, I may add, as would only have been logical, since the very basis of the said Notes is a renewed and close study of this *oldest extant* edition of Marlowe's source. Already, whilst my Notes were printing, I was informed that owing to circumstances entirely beyond her control, Miss Andrews would most likely have to give up her plan so that, both in the body of that work and in the preface, I could foreshadow that I might all the same have to edit the work myself. And here I have the pleasure to most gratefully mention the most generous part that Miss Andrews played in the production of the present reprint. When it became apparent that she could not do the work herself, she magnanimously placed a type-written copy of the ed. 1592 at my disposal, not only for private study, but also and expressly for the purpose of publication. Not only therefore, that it was possible for me to dispense with a further autopsy of the 1592 edition and that the mechanical process of the reproduction was rendered so much easier owing to the compositors having a typed copy before them, – which is especially valuable where the printers have to deal with a foreign language — but the accuracy of my text was in this way placed beyond doubt. For the sheets printed off were again revised by Miss Andrews and checked off with the first copy carefully typed in the British Museum by herself and her friend, Miss L. Taylor. Humanly speaking, I am thus certain that no error remains, when my Readers shall have had the goodness to collate the ‚Errata' printed on p. xx of the preliminary matter. It would be uselessly taking up much space to establish in detail, who — printer or editor(s) — is responsible for each of these errors; the load of opprobrium will

already be not overheavy to bear, when laid on our united shoulders and it is moreover further lightened by the fact that in the Notes to this volume, I have called attention to those two or three corrigenda which, alone, could cause a misunderstanding of the text. And I am glad to have to close this part of my introductory remarks by stating emphatically, that, if my text proves faultless, it is owing to the great pains taken over it by Miss Andrews and her friend.

The copy reproduced is found, as was already hinted at, among the treasures of the British Museum. It appears to be unique. It is true that Ashton in his *Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century* (ed. 1882, p. 38) mentions a copy in the possession of Halliwell-Phillips and that it appears from Thoms' ed. p. 159 that Collier had ‚kindly furnished (him) with the... proof that a(n) edition... appeared as early as 1592', but the Halliwell copy is the identical one that is now in the British Museum, as I was informed by my ever-obliging friend A. W. Pollard of that institution. And so long as we do not hear anything more precise about the identity of the copy Collier saw, we may presume it to have been Halliwell-Phillips' exemplar.

The British Museum copy is a quarto, measuring m.m. 180 × 135; the text from page numeration to catchword m.m. 172 × 101 according to the same museum official. It contains no illustrations, properly speaking. (See p. XIX, *infra*). My aim in reproducing it, was to furnish a reliable working basis for Faustus-students. What was wanted therefore, as regards the text, is a faithful reprint of the oldest edition, but it was not necessary to make it a page for page and line for line reproduction, which moreover would be excluded by the dimensions of this University-publication. Hence such cases as: agreeed (p. 99 l. 3, from top) which is cut

up in the original (agree = ed) and: But (on p. 103 l. 3 from bottom) which stands out flush in the ed. 1592 are not noted. Evident misprints, such as *Bishps* for *Bishops* are corrected in the text, but a note at the bottom of the page calls attention to the correction. As we do not know anything about the older systems of punctuation — have we got the right to speak of a system at all? — I have meddled as little with it as possible; finding two points of interrogation in my text, I have carefully distinguished between them and rendered one[1]) by a ⁝ the sole resource that the printing office allowed of. The bracketed letters on p. 1 are missing in the original. I have supplied references to Thoms' edition and to the pagination as well as the foliation of the edition 1592; only in this way, will it be practically possible to use my edition to look up older references to this text. It should be stated here that the word to which a note is affixed is the first, partly or entirely, of the page indicated; thus, on p. 64 of the present text, the note affixed to standing indicates that this is the first word on p. 234 of Thoms' edition, whereas the second note on the same page, to prince*ly*, means that prince — is on p. 40 (F. 1. v°) and the syllable *ly* on p. 41. (F. 2.) In one or two cases, *e. g.* where Thoms happened to have precisely a *varia lectio* at the beginning of a page (see *e. g.* inuironed, p. 113, where Thoms has conjured) I had to append a note to the corresponding word. As the headings to the 1592 text are History or Historie, without any apparent rule and as my edition, not being a page for page reprint, could not possibly

[1]) A recent discussion on this subject led one of my undergraduates to start the hypothesis that this might be an incipient point of interrogation. Seeing that, originally, there was very little difference between the use of this and that of the point of interrogation, the question is worth considering.

follow the original here, I had to adopt the plan of printing that form which, in the edition 1592, happened to precede the first word of the page in question. In this way only, could the same impression of absence of order be reproduced. As to the table of contents reprinted from the original at the end of our text, I have added in brackets the pages of the present reprint.

The notes to the present text will not be thought superfluous, I hope, but I may be allowed to add a word of explanation as to the reason, why some of them — those on the geographical additions by the translator — have taken such seemingly extraordinary proportions. The fact is that they were written with a view to one particular point that might have led to establish the identity of the translator. And as the edition is, as I observed before, a means rather than an aim, the present Introduction will have to be kept within the limits of the strictly necessary and questions such as the tendency of the English and German text; the relation between our text and Marlowe; the ultimate sources of the *Volksbuch*, *etc.* touched on at best, will not be treated in detail and will have to stand over till moments of greater leisure.

I have been unable to establish the identity of the translator. He is called P. F. *Gent.* on the title page of the 1592 edition; but subsequent editions give his initials as P. R. Gent. (Thoms) and P. K. Gent (Ashton *ll.* p. 38). One thing seems quite certain *viz.* that Gent is not his surname — which enormity has already more then once found its way into print; e. g. Ashton *ll.* p. 43 and see my Faustus-Notes p. 144 note — but an abbreviation of *Gentleman.* The fact that *Gent* is printed in italics and with a full stop behind it in the 1592 edition and especially the consideration that two

initials for Christian names are unusual, not to say impossible in the 16th century, should have made the man pause who first committed this statement.

As to what the initials stand for, a search in the Dictionary of National Biography yielded no result. There is no P. K. alive at the time and no P. R. either that could be looked upon as a possible man. And there are but three P. F.'s who, at least so far as their ages are concerned, might require a word of discussion. Of these three, Patrick Forbes 1564—1635, the bishop of Aberdeen, is of course excluded by the tendency of the book. As to Patrick Fitzmaurice, Lord Kerry, I can only say that I do not know anything about him, either *pro* or *con*, except that he was in prison from 1587—1591, so also at the time, when we know the E.F.B. to have been written. There remains a Philip Ferdinand (1555?—1598) a Polish Jew, but who lived in England and who, having become first converted to Roman Catholicism and afterwards to Protestantism, might well perhaps, at least so far as the neophyte enthusiasm of the convert goes, be supposed to have taken to this anti-Romanist pamphlet. But after all this hypothesis remains one very much in the air, for, not only that some little *traits* (such as the addition of ‚maners' p. 85 and his sally against the rude German author p. 50) point to his being an Englishman, but we must ask the question if P. F. ánd P. R. ánd P. K. may not be misprints all three, so that we should have to substitute P. X., and I am not sure that the answer must be negative.

Under those circumstances, we need devote but little space to one or two further considerations that might have had to be discussed at greater length, if we thought we had a clue to the translator's identity. They are 1° the question as to whether he knew sufficient

German and 2° whether he was a travelled man or not. If an unambiguous answer could be given, one way or the other, to either of the two questions implied, further search for our man would have been limited in a certain direction and hence facilitated. Unfortunately, vagueness will be found here too, to reign supreme. That our friend P. F. — I may be allowed to continue indicating him by these initials of the first extant edition — must have known some German is of course evident from the whole of the translation and more especially from some passages[1]) where a smaller light would have blundered. But that his own cannot have shone very brightly is apparent from the number of lesser and greater blunders in which we have caught our translator[2]) and also from the fact that some passages (such as Spies' ch. 65) which present considerable difficulties will be found to have been omitted. In connection with this point, it is however, only right to mention, be it briefly, an important difference in appreciation of the problem under discussion, between a sixteenth-century reader and a nineteenth-century critic. Remembering that the problem is that of the nature of translation, we might almost say that ‚to pose the problem is to (re)solve it'. For it will be apparent at once, that our standard of appreciation is so quite different from the older one, that we cannot possibly lay it on, in all fairness, where the accuracy of older translations has to be gauged. For according to our standard, a translation should be before all exact in

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[1]) See *e. g.* ‚poor wofull wearie' (p. 119) as a translation of *arbeitsseeliger*; ‚buzzardly asse' (p. 103), which is not bad for *Dölpel* etc.

[2]) See *e. g.* the notes on p. 137 (*arose*); 149 (*smote*); 164 (*Zipzar*) *etc. etc.*

every possible detail, not of course literal even to the sacrificing of idiom, but still as literal as is compatible with idiom and sense. And it must be clear from the briefest comparison between two earlier texts (original and translation) that no such ideal as ours was ever held up to any contemporary of our translator. A glance through my notes[1]) will already suffice to establish the fact that ‚a bold shot at it' — a term which I am conscious of having used more than once in my Notes — is really the one that most happily hits off the state of affairs. The translator did not then weigh his words carefully, if at all. At a time when Literary Property was a factor that no one had to take into account, when therefore, there was now the slightest reason why a translator should not look upon his ‚original' as annexed territory and the sentences in it as slaves at his mercy and to be dealt with as he thought fit, — at such a time we cannot be astonished to find a translator omit what he would not or could not find an equivalent for and add what at the moment of writing entered into his head and all this without the slightest attempt to distinguish between his own and some one else's. And at such a time, we must expect to find him twist the ideas or facts of his original into something different from, or even some thing the very opposite of what his source gives, simply because it pleased him to do so, or because he did not pay attention to what he was doing, or because he did not know that he was doing so. And precisely because we have to choose between these alternatives, *i. e.* because what *we* should now consider a w r o n g translation may be owing to any of these three causes, we have no right *ipso facto* to

[1]) See *e. g.* those on p. 137 (S. Valentines farewell); p. 139 (vp the stairs); p. 143. *etc. etc.*

conclude to ignorance, on the part of the translator, when we find that a word or a clause is not correctly rendered. What in our case would be a mistake would possibly be at most a blunder in his.

And the second point, that of his having travelled much or not, yields an equally barren result, although we shall find that we may here speak a little more positively negatively, if the expression may pass. It will be seen in my Notes that almost always, when P. F. adds some geographical detail[1]) to what he finds in his source, he is either found to blunder by an addition that is inaccurate mostly in more than one respect or he taxes our credulity to the utmost, by statements — such as that concerning the brazen Virgin at Breslau — which we have the right to disbelieve, so that in either case we conclude that he has not been to the places he mentions. This result, negative as it is, should not be left uncommented on, for this insertion in the middle of a certain text of details drawn from another source is not without interest. And, especially if we must hold this source to have been a written one — for P. F. might of course have derived his additional information from a friend who had visited all these places; although this is unlikely for a reason implicitly alleged above — this circumstance of a 16th century writer blending two sources in such a way that they form a readable whole is rare enough to be noticed. As to this source for the English additions, I am sorry to say that I have not been able to discover it. All I can say is that so far as I can see from the extracts given — and from those amongst the books themselves (to be referred to presently) that I have been able to see, — this source is not one of those

[1]) See most of the Notes to p. p. 52—73 *i. e.* to the Chapters 22 and 23.

mentioned by Milchsack (l.l.) and by Ellinger [1]) in their excellent disquisitions on the sources of the German *Volksbuch.* Those, who may have a greater quantity of such books of travel at their disposal will no doubt be more fortunate in this respect than I.

We have been led to refer to the Englishman's source for his additions before speaking of his principal source. The latter is of course indicated on the title page as ‚the true Copie printed at Franckfort'. Most critics are agreed that this must be the *Editio princeps* of Spies *i.e.* what Zarncke (apud Braune p. x.) calls the A^1 text. I myself have said as much in the foot-note to p. 59 of my Faustus-Notes, adducing some proof for this statement. And I still think that this is true. But it should be mentioned that another ‚Copie printed at Franckfort' and even possibly two, answer to that description, so far as I can see. For the pirated edition of 1587 (Zarncke's a^1 apud Braune p.p. IV, V) and Spies' reprint of 1588 (A^2 *l.l,* p. VII) are both described by Zarncke as corresponding page for page and to some extent literally[2]) to the *Editio princeps* so that the marginal notes I refer to (Faustus-Notes *l.l*) are undoubtedly found here too. So long as I have not inspected the different copies personally, I am of course unable to speak with certainty but at present I am forced to say that the pos-

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[1]) Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Litt. Second Series I 1887 p.p. 156 seqq.

[2]) I confess to being unable to understand what Thoms (p. 158) tells us about the difference between the German editions of 1587 and 1588 and I cannot therefore accept his conclusion that ‚the latter was the one from which the author.... translated'. His statement that the number of chapters in the edition 1588, was reduced from 76 to 68 is incomprehensible, considering there are only 68 in Spies *i.e.* in the edition 1587, and it is altogether in direct contradiction with what I have just quoted from Zarncke's collations.

sibility of the Englishman's ‚Vorlage' having been some other text than the *Editio princeps* is not excluded.

The date of our text cannot be fixed to a day, but we have a *terminus a quo* in the publication of the German A^1 text (1587) and a *terminus ad quem* in the date of the English Ballad, February the 28th 1589, New Style; see my Faustus-Notes pp. 140—143. Consequently, this date does not help us to decide either way.

That there was an earlier edition than this one, of 1592, is also proved by an inspection of the table of contents, — see p. 130 of our edition. Chap. 15 is said to be found on p. 16 of the text. This is practically true — see p. 25 of our reprint — but in the ed. 1592 itself we find the misprint 18 for it. Had our text been the first, the printer, — or editor, so far as that goes — would have printed 18 in the contents too. This reasoning is not invalidated by the consideration, that a similar mistake is found copied into our table of contents, — see p. 131 : 22 (32) and 23 (33), where 22 and 23 are mistakes for 20 and 21 respectively — on the contrary it is strengthened. For this proves that similar mistakes were not always found out. This latter mistake must consequently also have been found in an (or thé) older edition. We may conclude at the same time, that the edition 1592 was a page for page reprint of an older, — or thé older — edition.

One thing is quite certain *viz.* that P. F. translated from one of the German printed texts and not from the Wolfenbüttel text or one of its congeners. It will be found proved in the Notes to this volume that the Wolfenbüttel text stands slightly closer to the lost original text of the German *Volksbuch* — this last text would constitute one of these congeners and others

may have existed. And it may not be amiss here to warn against what we now know to be a misconception, *viz.* to take the date of the writing of the German *Volksbuch* to be 1587. Considering that the Wolfenbüttel text is older and that a still older text must have existed, the German text must originally have been compiled some time previous to that year, although I for one can find no reason to fix on any particular year. The question is of interest in connection with the search for the author of this compilation. In consequence of the foregoing considerations, Ellinger may find it necessary to modify, *i. e.* to amplify the list of possible names he has given in his interesting article on the sources of the *Volksbuch.*[1])

One point only remains to be touched on. We know that the text of 1592 is a reprint. This is clearly stated on the title page. We have found, in the Notes, that the text which Thoms reprinted gives, in a few cases, a reading which would seem to represent a better *i. e.* most likely an older text than ours. (See *e. g.* the note to Tartascelesia, p. 48). This suggest the possibility that other extant editions may also have been reprinted from this older and lost text. So a collation of other editions of the Historie would seem to be necessary. It is unfortunately impossible for me to undertake this, before this little Volume must see the light. I have therefore reluctantly to take leave of my Readers, without giving them all that they had a right to expect.

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[1]) Zeitschrift für Vergl. Literaturgeschichte und Renaissance Litt. N. F. I (1887) p. 157.

List of Illustrations, to be found in the limited Large Paper edition only.

I. Facsimile of Titlepage to the English Translation. (Titlepage).

II. Faustus in his Laboratory (from the original Rembrandt drawing in the British Museum, 1651 ?). (Frontispiece).

Represented in a white cap and academical gown. Writing-desk lies before him on table, closed right hand rests on it. Left on the arm of the chair, from which he has just risen, attracted by the sudden appearance of a luminous magic circle in the centre of a casement to the right. He is apparently watching the movement of a shadowy hand which points to a reflection of this circle in a mirror held by another hand below. Lower down on the right, a pile of books lies upon the table, and below in the right corner is the upper half of a globe. In the left background are a shelf of books, an hourglass, a skull, etc., while many sheets of paper fastened together hang by the upper part of the casement.

III. Faustus in the Spissers Wood (from an old Dutch edition of the ‚Historie', 1685). To face p. 4

IV. Mephistophilis in Form of a Monk, with Bell and Book, before Faustus (from a copy, after Sichem, in the ‚Historie', 1608). To face

Faustus is represented on the right of the picture, dressed in cap and gown. He is leaning against a table on which is a book, bearing the inscription ‚Nigromantia'. On the book, is a globe of the world. Opposite Faustus stands Mephistophiles dressed as a monk, in his countenance a malicious look. In his right hand he holds a book and a bell, and from his arm hangs a paternoster. The left hand is raised as if to take an oath, and is used instead of the right to signify that the oath is taken in the Devil's name and not in God's and he holds up but two fingers, closing the others. Faustus, supported by a cane in his right hand, is trying to imitate this position of the fingers with his left hand.

V. Faustus prognosticating concerning the Heavens (from a copperplate in the 1598 edition). To face

VI. Faustus showing Helen to the Students (from the 1685 edition). To face

VII. The Spirit Akercocke appearing to Wagner (from the German edition of the ‚Life of Wagner', 1594). To face

This represents a hilly landscape. To the left in the foreground stands Wagner in academical gown, his right hand raised in the act of taking an oath,

his left holding out a written document to the Devil. This horned Devil, with tail and claws, standing before Wagner, is reaching out his right hand towards Wagner; the left appears to be grasping after the document. Below, in the right-hand corner, are Wagner and Akercocke, engaged in lively conversation. Farther back, also to the right, Wagner stands on a flaming Mountain and looks off into the distance. To the left in the background is a city, in the direction of which a devil bearing Wagner on his back is flying through the air. At the upper edge of the picture are thick clouds. Printed in red and black.

VIII. Faustus being reminded by the Devil of his Contract, in the 24th Year of it (from 1685 edition). To face p. 122

IX. The Terrible End of Faustus (from 1685 edition). To face p. 128

X. Facsimile of Tail-piece to Original English edition (1592). To face p. 134

[These illustrations, with several others, were intended by Miss Andrews to have been added to her verbatim reprint of the ‚Historie'. With the exception of the title and the tail-piece, (which are hardly illustrations in the proper sense of the word) none of them are found in the 1592 edition. It was hence thought better to limit the reproduction of them to the L. P. edition, since otherwise the cost of the Students' edition would have been prohibitive. The exception, a reproduction, in the Students' edition, of the 1592 title-page was facsimiled at Rotterdam and is a present for which my Readers have to thank the printers.

The illustrations were chosen and described by Miss Andrews and reproduced under her supervision in New-York.

EDITOR'S NOTE.]

ERRATA.

p. XII l. 14 from top: for now read: not
p. XVI l. 22 „ „ for suggest read: suggests
p. 7 l. 9 from bottom: for *and* read: and
p. 17 l. 4 „ top: for hall read: hall,
p. 36 note [4]) should be [1])
p. 40 l. 5 from top: for muckforkes read: muck-forkes
ib. l. 9 „ bottom: for Faustus read: FAUSTUS
p. 47 l. 16 „ top: for hee read: he
p. 48 l. 11 „ bottom: for EUROPA read: EUROPA,
p. 49 l. 4 „ „ for al together read: altogether
p. 56 note [3]) maguus should be: maguus
p. 62 l. 2 from bottom: for tho read: the
p. 66 l. 13 „ top: for townborne read: town-borne
p. 69 l. 15 „ „ for abide read: aide
ib. note [3]) should be [1])
p. 78 ll. 8 and 9 from top: the comma of firmament in l. 8 should stand after firmament in l. 9.
p. 80 ll. 19 and 20 „ „ unto of l. 19 and that of l. 20 should change places.
p. 82 l. 17 „ „ for head read: head,
p. 90 l. 2 „ bottom: for short read: short,
p. 104 l. 12 „ top: for forgive read: forgiue
p. 108 l. 10 „ „ for for thou read: for that thou
p. 110 l. 8 „ „ for **Chap.** read: **Cap.**
p. 111 l. 11 „ „ for Faustus read: FAUSTUS
p. 115 l. 9 „ bottom: for Whereupon read: Wherupon
p. 118 l. 11 „ „ for wherof read: whereof
p. 128 l. 8 „ top: for *the* read: *the*
p. 157 l. 11 „ „ omit comma after contain

Bibliographical List of the principal works quoted by abridged titles.

BRANDL = Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare. Strassburg Trübner, 1898.

BREYMANN = Doctor Faustus, herausgegeben von H. Breymann, Heilbronn 1889.

EVERYMAN = Elkerlyk and Everyman, edited by H. Logeman, Gand, Engelcke, 1892.

FAUSTUS-NOTES (or F. N.) = Faustus-Notes, a Supplement to the Commentaries on Marlowe's „Tragicall History of D. Faustus" by H. Logeman, Gand, Engelcke; Amsterdam, Gebr. Schröder, 1898.

KÜHNE = Das älteste Faustbuch, Zerbst, 1868.

MILCHSACK = Historia D. Johannis Fausti des Zauberers nach der Wolfenbütteler handschrift nebst dem nachweis eines teils ihrer quellen herausgegeben von G. Milchsack. Wolfenbüttel, Zwissler, 1892.

SPIES = Das Volksbuch von Doctor Faust (ed. Braune, with a bibliography by Zarncke). Halle, Niemeyer, 1878.

THOMS = Thoms' reprint of a later edition of our text in the third volume of his Early English Prose Romances. London 1858 (2nd ed.)

WARD = Old English Drama. Marlowe's Tragicall History of Dr. Faustus, *etc.* Oxford 1892. *third edition, revised and enlarged.*

WOLFENBÜTTEL *See* Milchsack.

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THE HISTORIE of the damnable life, and deserued death of *Doctor Iohn Faustus,*

Newly imprinted, and in conuenient *places imperfect matter amended:* according to the true Copie printed *at* Franckfort, *and translated into English by* P.F. *Gent.*

Seene and allowed.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, and are to be solde by Edward White, dwelling at the little North doore of Paules, at the signe of the Gun. 1592.

A[1]) Discourse of the most famous Doctor John Faustus of VVittenberg in Germanie, Coniurer, and Necromancer: wherein is declared many strange things that he himselfe hath seene, and done in the earth and in the Ayre, with his bringing vp, his trauailes, studies, and last end.

Of his Parentage and Birth. Chap. 1.

OHN FAUSTUS, borne in the town of RHODE, lying in the Prouince of WEIMER in GERM[ANIE], his father a poore Husbandman, and not [able] wel to bring him vp: but hauing an Uncle at WITTENBERG, a rich man, *and* without issue, took this I. FAUSTUS from his father, *and* made him his heire, in so much that his father was no more troubled with him, for he remained with his Uncle at WITTENBERG, where he was kept at *the* Uniuersitie in the same citie to study diuinity. But FAUSTUS being of a naughty minde *and* otherwise addicted, applied not his studies, but tooke himselfe to other exercises: the which his [2]) Uncle oftentimes hearing, rebuked him for it, as ELI

[1]) Th. 165; 1, A 2. [2]) Th. 166.

oft times rebuked his children for sinning against the Lord: euen so this good man laboured to haue FAUSTUS apply his study of Diuinitie, that he might come to the knowledge of God *and* his lawes. But it is manifest that many vertuous parents haue wicked children, as CAYN, RUBEN, ABSOLOM, and such like haue béen to their parents: so this FAUSTUS hauing godly parents, and seeing him to be of a toward wit, were very desirous to bring him vp in those vertuous studies, namely, of Diuinitie: but he gaue himself secretly to study Necromancy and Coniuration, in so much that few or none could perceiue his profession.

But to the purpose: FAUSTUS continued at study in the Uniuersity, *and* was by the Rectors and sixteene Masters afterwards examined howe he had profited in his studies; and being found by them, that none for his time were able to argue with him in Diuinity, or for the excellency of his wisedome to compare with him, with one consent they made him Doctor of Diuinitie. But Doctor FAUSTUS within short time after hee had obtayned his degree, fell into such fantasies and deepe cogitations, that he was marked of many, and of the most part of the Students was called the SPECULATOR; and sometime he would throw the Scriptures from [1]) him as though he had no care of his former profession: so that hee began a very vngodly life, as hereafter more at large may appeare; for the olde Prouerb sayth, Who can hold that wil away? so, who can hold FAUSTUS from the [2]) diuel, that seekes after him with al his indeuour? For he accompanied himselfe with diuers that were seene in those diuelish Arts, and that had the CHALDEAN, PERSIAN, HEBREW, ARABIAN, and GREEKE tongues, vsing Figures, Characters, Coniurations,

[1]) 2, A 2 v°. [2]) Th. 167.

Incantations, with many other ceremonies belonging to these infernal Arts, as Necromancie, Charmes, Southsaying, Witchcraft, Inchantment, being delighted with their bookes, words, and names so well, that he studied day and night therein: in so much that hee could not abide to bee called Doctor of Diuinitie, but waxed a worldly man, and named himselfe an Astrologian, and a Mathematician: *and* for a shadow sometimes a Phisitian, and did great cures, namely, with hearbs, rootes, waters, drinks, receipts, *and* clisters. And without doubt he was passing wise, and excellent perfect in the holy scriptures: but hee that knoweth his masters will and doth it not, is worthy to be beaten with many stripes. It is written, no man can serue two masters: and, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God: but FAUSTUS threw all this in the winde, *and* made his soule of no estimation, regarding more his worldly pleasure than *the* ioyes to come: therfore at *the* day of iudgement there is no hope of his redemptio*n*.

How [1]) Doctor Faustus began to practise in his diuelish Arte, and how he coniured the Diuel, making him to appeare and meete him on the morrow at his owne house. Chap. 2.

YOu haue heard before, that all FAUSTUS minde was set to study the artes of Necromancie and Coniuration, the which exercise hee followed day and night: and taking to him the wings of an Eagle, thought to flie ouer the whole world, and to know the secrets of heauen and earth; for his Speculation was so wonderfull, being expert in vsing his VOCABULA,

[1]) Th. 168.

Figures, Characters, Coniurations, and other Ceremoniall actions, that in all the haste hee put in practise to bring the Diuell before him. And taking his way to a thicke Wood neere to WITTENBERG, called in the Germane tongue SPISSER WALDT: that is in English the SPISSERS WOOD, (as FAUSTUS would oftentimes boast of it among his crue being in his iolitie,) he came into the same wood towards euening into a crosse way, where he made with a wand a Circle in the dust, and within that many more Circles and Characters: and thus he past away the time, vntill it was nine or ten of the clocke in [1]) the night, then began Doctor FAUSTUS to call for MEPHOSTOPHILES the Spirite, and to charge him in the name of BEELZEBUB to appeare there personally without any long stay: then presently the Diuel began so great a rumor in the Wood, as if heauen and earth [2]) would haue come together with winde, the trees bowing their tops to the ground, then fell the Diuell to bleare as if the whole Wood had been full of Lyons, and sodainly about the Circle ranne the Diuell as if a thousand Wagons had been running together on paued stones. After this at the foure corners of the Wood it thundred horribly, with such lightnings as if the whole worlde, to his seeming, had been on fire. FAUSTUS all this while halfe amazed at the Diuels so long tarrying, and doubting whether he were best to abide any more such horrible Coniurings, thought to leaue his Circle and depart; wherevpon the Diuel made him such musick of all sortes, as if the Nimphes themselues had beene in place: whereat FAUSTUS was reuiued and stoode stoutly in his Circle aspecting his purpose, and began againe to coniure the spirite MEPHOSTOPHILES

[1]) 3, A 3. [2]) Th. 169.

in the name of the Prince of Diuels to appeare in his likenesse: where at sodainly ouer his head hanged houering in the ayre a mighty Dragon: then cals FAUSTUS againe after his Diuelish maner, at which there was a monstrous crie in the Wood, as if hell had been open, and all the tormented soules crying to God for mercy; presently not three fadome aboue his head fell a flame in manner of a lightning, and changed it selfe into a Globe: yet FAUSTUS feared it not, but did perswade himselfe that the Diuell should giue him his request before hee would leaue: Oftentimes after to his companions he would boast, that he had the stoutest head (vnder the cope of heauen) at commandement: whereat they answered, they knew none stouter [1]) than the Pope or Emperour: but Doctor FAUSTUS said, the head that is my seruant is aboue all on earth, and repeated certain wordes out of Saint PAUL to the EPHESIANS to make his argument good: The Prince of this world is vpon earth and vnder heauen. Wel, let vs come againe to his Coniuration where we left him at his fiery Globe: FAUSTUS vexed at the Spirits so long tarying, vsed his Charmes with full purpose not to depart before he had his intent, and crying on MEPHOSTOPHILES the Spirit; sodainly the Globe opened and sprang vp in height of a man: so burning a time, in the end it conuerted to the shape of a fiery man. This pleasant beast ranne about the circle a great while, and lastly appeared in manner of a gray Frier, asking FAUSTUS what was his request. FAUSTUS commaunded that the next morning at twelue of the clocke hee should appeare to him at his house; but the diuel would in no wise graunt:

[1]) Th. 170.

Faustus [1]) began againe to coniure him in the name of BEELZEBUB, that he should fulfil his request: whereupon the Spirit agreed, and so they departed each one his way.

The conference of Doctor Faustus with the Spirit Mephostophiles the morning following at his owne house. Chap. 3.

DOctor FAUSTUS hauing commaunded the Spirit to be with him, at his houre appointed he came and appeared in his chamber, demanding of FAUSTUS what his desire was: then [2]) began Doctor FAUSTUS anew with him to coniure him that he should be obedient vnto him, *and* to answere him certaine Articles, and to fulfil them in al points.

1 That the Spirit should serue him and be obedient vnto him in all things that he asked of him from *that* houre vntil the houre of his death.

2 Farther, any thing that he desired of him he should bring it to him.

3 Also, that in all FAUSTUS his demaunds or Interrogations, the spirit should tell him nothing but that which is true.

Hereupon the Spirit answered and laid his case foorth, that he had no such power of himselfe, vntil he had first giuen his Prince (that was ruler ouer him) to vnderstand thereof, and to know if he could obtaine so much of his Lord: therfore speake farther that I may do thy whole desire to my Prince: for it is not in my power to fulfill without his leaue. Shew me the cause why (said FAUSTUS.) The Spirit answered: FAUSTUS, thou shalt vnderstand, that with vs it is euen as well a kingdome, as with you on earth:

[1]) 4 (by mistake: 5), A 3 v°. [2]) Th. 171.

yea, we haue our rulers and seruants, as I my selfe am one, and we name our whole number the Legion: for although that LUCIFER is thrust and fall*en* out of heauen through his pride and high minde, yet he hath notwithstanding a Legion of Diuels at his commaundement, that we call the ORIENTAL Princes; for his power is great and infinite. Also there is an host in MERIDIE, in SEPTENTRIO, in OCCIDENTE: and for that LUCIFER hath his kingdome vnder heauen, wee must change and giue our selues [1]) vnto men to serue them at their pleasure. It is also certaine, we haue neuer as yet opened vnto any man the truth of our dwelling, neither of our ruling, neither what our power is, neither haue we giuen any man any gift, or learned him any thing, except he promise to be ours.

Doctor FAUSTUS vpon this arose where he sate, *and* said, I wil haue my request, and yet I wil not be damned. The spirit answered, Then shalt thou want thy desire, *and* yet art thou mine notwithstanding: if any man would detaine thee it is in vain, for thine infidelity hath confou*n*ded thée.

Hereupon [2]) spake FAUSTUS: Get thee hence from me, and take Saint VALENTINES farewell *and* CRISAM with thee, yet I coniure thee that thou be here at euening, *and* bethinke thy selfe on that I haue asked thee, and aske thy Princes counsel therein. MEPHOSTOPHILES the Spirit, thus answered, vanished away, leauing FAUSTUS in his study, where he sate pondering with himselfe how he might obtaine his request of the diuel without losse of his soule: yet fully he was resolued in himselfe, rather than to want his pleasure, to doe whatsoeuer the Spirit and his Lord should condition vpon.

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[1]) Th. 172. [2]) 5 (by mistake: 4), A 4.

The second time of the Spirits appearing to Faustus in his house, and of their parley. Chap. 4.

FAUSTUS continuing in his diuelish cogitations, neuer mouing out of the place where the Spirit left him (such was his feruent loue to the diuel) the night approching, [1]) this swift flying Spirit appeared to FAUSTUS, offering himself with al submission to his seruice, with ful authority from his Prince to doe whatsoeuer he would request, if so be FAUSTUS would promise to be his: this answere I bring thee, and an answere must thou make by me againe, yet will I heare what is thy desire, because thou hast sworne me to be here at this time. Doctor FAUSTUS gaue him this answere, though faintly (for his soules sake) That his request was none other but to become a Diuel, or at the least a limme of him, and that the Spirit should agree vnto these Articles as followeth.

1 That he might be a Spirite in shape and qualitie.

2 That MEPHOSTOPHILES should be his seruant, and at his commandement.

3 That MEPHOSTOPHILES should bring him any thing, and doo for him whatsoeuer.

4 That at all times he should be in his house, inuisible to all men, except onely to himselfe, and at his commandement to shew himselfe.

5 Lastly, that MEPHOSTOPHILES should at all times appeare at his commaund, in what forme or shape soeuer he would.

Upon these poynts the Spirit answered Doctor FAUSTUS, that all this should be granted him and fulfilled, and more if he would agree vnto him vpon certaine Articles as followeth.

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[1]) Th. 173.

First, that Doctor FAUSTUS should giue himselfe to his Lord LUCIFER, body and soule.

Secondly, for confirmation of the same, he should make him a wri*ting*, [1]) written with his owne blood.

Thirdly, [2]) that he would be an enemie to all Christian people.

Fourthly, that he would denie his Christian beleefe.

Fiftly, that he let not any man change his opinion, if so bee any man should goe about to disswade, or withdraw him from it.

Further, the spirit promised FAUSTUS to giue him certaine yeares to liue in health and pleasure, and when such yeares were expired, that then FAUSTUS should be fetched away, and if he should holde these Articles and conditions, that then he should haue all whatsoeuer his heart would wish or desire; and that FAUSTUS should quickly perceiue himself to be a Spirit in all maner of actions whatsoeuer. Hereupon Doctor FAUSTUS his minde was so inflamed, that he forgot his soule, and promised MEPHOSTOPHILES to hold all things as hee had mentioned them: he thought the diuel was not so black as they vse to paynt him, nor hell so hote as the people say, *etc.*

The third parley between Doctor Faustus and Mephostophiles about a conclusion. Chap. 5.

AFter Doctor FAUSTUS had made his promise to the diuell, in the morning betimes he called the Spirit before him and commaunded him that he should alwayes come to him like a Fryer, after the order of Saint FRANCIS, with a bell in his hande like Saint ANTHONIE, and to ring it once or twise before he

[1]) 6, A 4 v°. [2]) Th. 174.

appeared, that he might know of his certaine [1]) comming: Then FAUSTUS demaunded the Spirit, what was his name? The Spirit answered, my name is as thou sayest, MEPHOSTOPHILES, and I am a prince, but seruant to LUCIFER: and all the circuit from SEPTENTRIO to the MERIDIAN, I rule vnder him. Euen at these words was this wicked wretch FAUSTUS inflamed, to heare himselfe to haue gotten so great a Potentate to be his seruant, forgot the Lord his maker, and Christ his redeemer, became an enemy vnto all man-kinde, yea, worse than the Gyants whom the Poets fayne to climb the hilles to make warre with the Gods: not vnlike that enemy of God and his Christ, that for his pride was cast into hell: so likewise FAUSTUS forgot that the high climbers catch the greatest falles, and that the sweetest meate requires the sowrest sawce.

After a while, FAUSTUS promised MEPHOSTOPHILES to write and make his Obligation, with full assurance of the Articles in the Chapter before rehearsed. A pitifull case, (Christian Reader,) for certainly this Letter or Obligation was found in his house after his most lamen*table* [2]) end, with all the rest of his damnable practises vsed in his whole life. Therefore I wish al Christians to take an example by this wicked FAUSTUS, and to be comforted in Christ, contenting themselues with that vocation whereunto it hath pleased God to call them, and not to esteeme the vaine delights of this life, as did this vnhappie FAUSTUS, in giuing his Soule to the Diuell: *and* to confirme it the more assuredly, he tooke a small penknife, and prickt a vaine [3]) in his left hand, *and* for certaintie therevpon, were seene on his hand these words written, as if they had been written with blood, Ô HOMO FUGE: whereat the Spirit

[1]) Th. 175. [2]) 7, B 1. [3]) Th. 176.

vanished, but FAUSTUS continued in his damnable minde, *and* made his writing as followeth.

How Doctor Faustus set his blood in a saucer on warme ashes, and writ as followeth. Chap. 6.

I IOHANNES FAUSTUS, Doctor, doe openly acknowledge with mine owne hand, to the greater force and strengthning of this Letter, that siththence I began to studie and speculate the course and order of the Elements, I haue not found through the gift that is giuen mee from aboue, any such learning and wisdome, that can bring mee to my desires: and for that I find, that men are vnable to instruct me any farther in the matter, now haue I Doctor IOHN FAUSTUS, vnto the hellish prince of Orient and his messenger MEPHOSTOPHILES, giuen both bodie *and* soule, vpon such condition, that they shall learne me, and fulfill my desire in all things, as they haue promised and vowed vnto me, with due obedience vnto me, according vnto the Articles mentioned betweene vs.

Further, I couenant and grant with them by these presents, that at the end of *24.* yeares next ensuing the date of this present Letter, they being expired, and I in the meane time, during the said yeares be serued of them at my wil, they accomplishing my desires to the full in al points as we are agreed, that then [1]) I giue them full power to doe with mee at their pleasure, to rule, to send, fetch, or carrie me or mine, be it either body, soule, flesh, blood, or goods, into their habitation, be it wheresoeuer: and herevpon, I defie God and his Christ, all the hoast of heauen, and all liuing creatures that beare the shape of God, yea all that liues; and

[1]) Th. 177.

againe I say it, and it shall be so. And to the more strengthning of this writing, I haue written it with mine owne hand and blood, being in perfect memory, and herevpon I subscribe to it with my name and title, calling all the infernall, middle, and supreme powers to witnesse of this my Letter and subscription.

Iohn Faustus, approued in the Elements,
and the spirituall Doctor.

How [1]) Mephostophiles came for his writing, and in what maner hee appeared, and his sights he shewed him: and how he caused him to keep a copie of his owne writing.
Chap. 7.

DOctor FAUSTUS sitting pensiue, hauing but one onely boy with him, sodainely there appeared his Spirite MEPHOSTOPHILES, in likenes of a fierie man, from whome issued most horrible fierie flames, in so much that the boy was afraide, but being hardned by his master, he bad him stand still and he should haue no harme: the Spirit began to blare as in a singing manner. This pretie sport pleased Doctor FAUSTUS well, but hee would not call his Spirit into his Counting house, vntill hee had seene more: anon was heard [2]) a rushing of armed men, and trampling of horsses: this ceasing, came a kennell of hounds, and they chased a great Hart in the hall, and there the Hart was slaine. FAUSTUS tooke heart, came forth, and looked vpon the Hart, but presently before him there was a Lyon and a Dragon together fighting, so fiercely, that FAUSTUS thought they would haue brought

[1]) 8, B 1 v°. [2]) Th. 178.

downe the house, but the Dragon ouercame the Lyon, and so they vanished.

After this, came in a Peacock, with a Peahen, the cocke brusling of his tayle, and turning to the female, beate her, and so vanished. Afterward followed a furious Bull, that with a full fiercenes ran vpon FAUSTUS, but comming neare him, vanished away. Afterward followed a great old Ape, this Ape offered FAUSTUS the hand, but he refused: so the Ape ran out of the hal againe. Herevpon fell a mist in the hal, that FAUSTUS saw no light, but it lasted not, and so soone as it was gone, there lay before FAUSTUS two great sacks, one full of gold, the other full of siluer.

Lastly, was heard by FAUSTUS all maner Instruments of musick, as Organs, Clarigolds, Lutes, Viols, Citerns, Waights, Hornepipes, Fluites, Anomes, Harpes, and all maner of other Instruments, the which so rauished his minde, that hee thought hee had been in another world, forgat both body and soule, in so much that he was minded neuer to change his opinion concerning that which he had done. Hereat, came MEPHOSTOPHILES into the Hall to FAUSTUS, in apparell like vnto a Frier, to whome FAUSTUS spake, thou hast done mee a wonderfull pleasure [1]) in shewing mee this pastime, if thou continue as thou hast begun, thou shalt win my heart and soule, yea and haue it. MEPHOSTOPHILES answered, this is nothing, I will please thee better: yet that thou maist know my power and all, aske what thou wilt request of mee, that shalt thou haue, conditionally hold thy promise, and giue me thy handwriting: at which [2]) words, the wretch thrust forth his hand, saying, hold thee, there hast thou my promise: MEPHOSTOPHILES tooke the writing, and willing

[1]) Th. 179. [2]) 9, B 2.

FAUSTUS to take a copie of it, with that the peruerse FAUSTUS being resolute in his damnation, wrote a copie thereof, and gaue the Diuell the one, and kept in store the other. Thus the Spirit and FAUSTUS were agreed, *and* dwelt together: no doubt there was a vertuous housekeeping.

The manner how Faustus proceeded with his damnable life, and of the diligent seruice that Mephostophiles vsed towards him. Chap. 8.

DOctor FAUSTUS hauing giuen his soule to the diuell, renouncing all the powers of heauen, confirming this lamentable action with his owne blood, and hauing alreadie deliuered his writing not into the diuels hand, the which so puffed vp his heart, that hee had forgot the minde of a man, and thought rather himselfe to bee a spirit. This FAUSTUS dwelt in his Unckles house at WIRTENBERG, who dyed, and bequethed it in his Testament to his Cousin [1]) FAUSTUS. FAUSTUS kept a boy with him that was his scholler, an vnhappie wagge, called CHRISTOPHER WAGNER, to whome this sporte and life that hee saw his master follow seemed pleasant. FAUSTUS loued the boy well, hoping to make him as good or better seene in his diuelish exercise than himselfe; and hee was fellow with MEPHOSTOPHILES: otherwise FAUSTUS had no more companie in his house; but himselfe, his boy and his Spirit, that euer was diligent at FAUSTUS commaund, going about the house, clothed like a Frier, with a little bell in his hand, seene of none but FAUSTUS. For his victuall and other necessaries, MEPHOSTOPHILES brought him at his pleasure from the Duke of SAXON, the Duke of BAUARIA, and the Bishop of SALTZBURG:

[1]) Th. 180.

for they had many times their best wine stolne out of their cellers by MEPHOSTOPHILES: Likewise their prouision for their owne table, such meate as FAUSTUS wished for, his spirite brought him in: besides that, FAUSTUS himselfe was become so cunning, that when he opened his windowe, what foule soeuer he wished for, it came presently flying into his house, were it neuer so daintie. Moreouer, FAUSTUS and his boy went in sumptuous apparrell, the which MEPHOSTOPHILES stole from the Mercers at NORENBERG, AUSPURG, FRANCKEFORD, and LIPTZIG: for it was hard for them to find a lock to keep out such a theefe. All their maintenance was but stolne *and* borrowed ware: and thus they liued an odious life in the sight of God, though as yet *the* world were vnacquainted with their wickednes. It must be so, for their fruites be none other: [1]) as Christ saith through IOHN, where hee cals the diuell a theefe, and [2]) a murderer: and that found FAUSTUS, for hée stole him away both bodie and soule.

How Doctor Faustus would haue married, and how the Diuell had almost killed him for it. Chap. 9.

DOctor FAUSTUS continued thus in his Epicurish life day *and* night, and beleeued not that there was a God, hell, or diuel: he thought that bodie and soule died together, and had quite forgotten Diuinitie or the immortalitie of his soule, but stoode in his damnable heresie day and night. And bethinking himselfe of a wife, called MEPHOSTOPHILES to counsaile; which would in no wise agree: demanding of him if he would breake the couenant made with him, or if hee had forgot it. Hast not thou (quoth MEPHOSTO-

[1]) Th. 181. [2]) 10, B 2 v°.

PHILES) sworne thy selfe an enemy to God and all creatures? To this I answere thée, thou canst not marry; thou canst not serue two masters, God, and my Prince: for wedlock is a chiefe institution ordained of God, and that hast thou promised to defie, as we doe all, and that hast thou also done: and moreouer thou hast confirmed it with thy blood: perswade thy selfe, that what thou doost in contempt of wedlock, it is all to thine owne delight. Therefore FAUSTUS, looke well about thée, and bethinke thy selfe better, and I wish thée to change thy minde: for if thou keepe not what thou hast promised in thy writing, we wil teare thée in péeces like the dust [1]) vnder thy féete. Therefore swéete FAUSTUS, thinke with what vnquiet life, anger, strife, *and* debate thou shalt liue in when thou takest a wife: therefore change thy minde.

Doctor FAUSTUS was with these spéeches in despaire: and as all that haue forsaken the Lord, can build vpon no good foundation: so this wreched FAUSTUS hauing forsooke the rock, fell in despaire with himself, fearing if he should motion Matrimonie any more, that the diuell would teare him in péeces. For this time (quoth he to MEPHOSTOPHILES) I am not minded to marry. Then you doe well, answered his spirite. But shortly *and* that within [2]) two houres after, FAUSTUS called his spirit, which came in his old maner like a Frier. Then FAUSTUS said vnto him, I am not able to resist nor bridle my fantasie, I must and will haue a wife, and I pray thée giue thy consent to it. Sodainlie vpon these words came such a whirle-winde about the place, that FAUSTUS thought the whole house would come down, all the doores in the house flew off the hookes: after all this, his house was full of smoke,

[1]) Th. 182. [2]) within] wihtin.

and the floore couered ouer with ashes: which when Doctor FAUSTUS perceiued, he would haue gone vp the staires: and flying vp, he was taken and throwne into the hall that [1]) he was not able to stir hand nor foote: then round about him ran a monstrous circle of fire, neuer standing still, that FAUSTUS fried as hee lay, and thought there to haue béen burned. Then cried hee out to his Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES for help, promising him hee would liue in all things as he had vowed [2]) in his hand-writing. Hereupon appeared vnto him an ougly Diuell, so fearefull and monstrous to beholde, that FAUSTUS durst not looke on him. The Diuell said, what wouldst thou haue FAUSTUS? how likest thou thy wedding? what minde art thou in now? FAUSTUS answered, he had forgot his promise, desiring him of pardon, and he would talke no more of such things. The diuell answered, thou were best so to doe, and so vanished.

After appeared vnto him his Frier MEPHOSTOPHILES with a bel in his hand, and spake to FAUSTUS: It is no iesting with vs, holde thou that which thou hast vowed, and wee will performe as wee haue promised: and more than that, thou shalt haue thy hearts desire of what woman soeuer thou wilt, bee shee aliue or dead, and so long as thou wilt, thou shalt kéepe her by thee.

These words pleased FAUSTUS wonderfull well, and repented himselfe that hee was so foolish to wish himselfe married, that might haue any woman in the whole Citie brought to him at his command; the which he practised and perseuered in a long time.

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[1]) 11, B 3. [2]) Th. 183.

Questions put foorth by Doctor Faustus vnto his Spirite Mephostophiles. Chap. 10.

DOctor FAUSTUS liuing in all manner of pleasure that his heart could desire, continuing in his amorous drifts, his delicate fare, and costly apparel, called on a time his MEPHOSTOPHILES to him: which being come, brought with him [1]) a booke in his hand of all maner of diuelish and inchanted artes, the which he gaue FAUSTUS, saying: hold my FAUSTUS, worke now thy hearts desire: The copie of this inchanting booke was afterward found by his seruant CHRISTOPHER WAGNER. Wel (quoth FAUSTUS to his spirit) I haue called thee to know what thou canst doe if I haue néede of thy help. Then answered MEPHOSTOPHILES and said, my Lord FAUSTUS, I am a flying spirit: yea, so swift as thought can think, to do whatsoeuer. Here FAUSTUS said: but how came thy Lord and master LUCIFER to haue so great a fal from heauen? MEPHOSTOPHILES answered: My Lord LUCIFER was a faire Angell, created of God as immortal, and being placed in the Seraphins, which are aboue the Cherubins, hee would haue presumed vnto the Throne of God, with intent to haue thrust [2]) God out of his seate. Vpon this presumption the Lord cast him downe headlong, and where before he was an Angel of light, now dwels hee in darkenes, not able to come neere his first place, without God send for him to appeare before him as RAPHAEL: but vnto the lower degree of Angells that haue their conuersation with men hee was come, but not vnto the second degree of Heauens that is kept by the Archangells, namely, MICHAEL and GABRIEL, for these are called Angels of Gods wonders: yet are these farre inferiour places to that from whence my Lord and

[1]) Th. 184. [2]) 12, B 3 v°.

Master LUCIFER fell. And thus farre FAUSTUS, because thou art one of the beloued children of my Lord LUCIFER, following and feeding thy minde in maner as he did his, I haue shortly resolued thy request, and more I will doe for thee at thy pleasure. I [1]) thanke thee MEPHOSTOPHILES (quoth FAUSTUS) come let vs now goe rest, for it is night: vpon this they left their communication.

How Doctor Faustus dreamed that hee had seene hell in his sleepe, and how he questioned with his Spirit of matters as concerning hell, with the Spirits answer. Chap. 11.

THe night following, after FAUSTUS his communication had with MEPHOSTOPHILES, as concerning the fal of LUCIFER, Doctor FAUSTUS dreamed that he had seene a part of hell: but in what maner it was, or in what place he knew not: whereupon he was greatly troubled in minde, and called vnto him MEPHOSTOPHILES his spirit, saying to him, my MEPHOSTOPHILES, I pray thee resolue me in this doubt: what is hell, what substance is it of, in what place stands it, and when was it made? MEPHOSTOPHILES answered: my FAUSTUS, thou shalt knowe, that before the fall of my Lord LUCIFER there was no hell, but euen then was hell ordained: it is of no substance, but a confused thing: for I tell thee, that before al Elements were made, and the earth seene, the Spirit of God moued on the waters, and darkenes was ouer all: but when God said, let it bee light, it was so at his word, and the light was on Gods right hand, and God praised the light. Iudge thou further: God stood in the middle, the darkenes was on his left hand, in the which my Lorde was bound

[1]) Th. 185.

in chaines vntill the day of [1]) iudgement: in this confused hell is nought to finde but a filthie, Sulphurish, firie, stinking mist or fog. Further, wee Diuels know not what substance it is of, but a confused thing. For as a bubble of water flieth before the wind, so doth hell before the breath of God. Further, we Diuels know not how God hath laid [2]) the foundation of our hell, nor whereof it is: but to bee short with thee FAUSTUS, we know that hell hath neither bottome nor end.

The second question put foorth by Doctor Faustus to his Spirite, what Kingdomes there were in hell, how many, and what were their rulers names. Chap. 12.

FAUSTUS spake againe to MEPHOSTOPHILES, saying: thou speakest of wonderfull things, I pray thee now tell mee what Kingdomes is there in your hell, how many are there, what are they called, and who rules them: the Spirite answered him: my FAUSTUS, knowe that hell is as thou wouldst thinke with thy selfe another world, in the which wee haue our being, vnder the earth, and aboue the earth, euen to the Heauens; within the circumference whereof are contained ten Kingdomes, namely:

1	Lacus mortis.	6	Gehenna.
2	Stagnum ignis.	7	Herebus.
3	Terra tenebrosa.	8	Barathrum.
4	Tartarus.	9	Styx.
5	Terra obliuionis.	10	Acheron.

The which Kingdomes are gouerned by fiue kings, that is, LUCIFER in the ORIENT, BEELZEBUB in SEPTENTRIO, BELIAL [3]) in MERIDIE, ASTAROTH in OCCIDENTE, and PHLEGETON in the middest of them all: whose rule and dominions haue none end vntill the day of Dome.

[1]) Th. 186. [2]) 13, B 4. [3]) Th. 187.

And thus farre FAUSTUS, hast thou heard of our rule and kingdomes.

Another question put foorth by Doctor Faustus to his Spirite concerning his Lorde Lucifer, with the sorrow that Faustus fell afterwards into. Chap. 13.

DOctor FAUSTUS began againe to reason with MEPHOSTOPHILES, requiring him to tell him in what forme and shape, *and* in what estimation his Lord LUCIFER was when he was in fauour with God. Whereupon his spirit required him of three daies respite, which FAUSTUS granted. The 3. daies being expired, MEPHOSTOPHILES gaue him this answer: FAUSTUS, my Lord LUCIFER, (so called now, for that he was banished out of the cleare light of Heauen) was at the first an Angell of God, he sate on the Cherubins, and sawe all the wonderfull works of God, yea he was so of God ordained, for shape, pompe, authority, worthines, *and* dwelling, that he far exceeded all other the creatures of God, yea [1]) our gold and precious stones: and so illuminated, that he farre surpassed the brightnes of the Sunne and all other Starres: wherefore God placed him on the Cherubins, where he had a kinglie office, and was alwaies before Gods seate, to the end hee might bee the more perfect in all his beings: but when hee began to be high minded, proude, and so presumptuous that hee would vsurpe the seate of his Maiestie, then was he banished out from amongst the heauenly [2]) powers, separated from their abiding into the manner of a fierie stone, that no water is able to quench, but continually burneth vntill the ende of the world.

Doctor FAUSTUS, when he had heard the words of

[1]) 14, B 4 v°. [2]) Th. 188.

his spirit, began to consider with himselfe, hauing diuerse and sundrie opinions in his head: and very pensiuely (saying nothing) vnto his Spirit, hee went into his chamber, and laid him on his bed, recording the words of MEPHOSTOPHILES; which so pearced his heart, that hee fell into sighing and great lamentation, crying out: alas, ah, wo is me! what haue I done? Euen so shall it come to passe with me: am not I also a creature of Gods making, bearing his owne Image and similitude, into whom he hath breathed the Spirite of life and immortalitie, vnto whome hee hath made all things liuing subiect: but woe is me, mine hautie minde, proud aspyring stomack, and filthie flesh, hath brought my soule into perpetuall damnation; yea, pride hath abused my vnderstanding, in so much that I haue forgot my maker, the Spirit of God is departed from mee. I haue promised the Diuell my Soule: and therefore it is but a folly for me to hope for grace, but it must bee euen with mee as with LUCIFER, throwne into perpetuall burning fire: ah, woe is mée that euer I was borne. In this perplexitie lay this miserable Doctor FAUSTUS, hauing quite forgot his faith in Christ, neuer falling to repentance truly, thereby to attaine the grace *and* holy Spirit of God againe, the which would haue béen able to haue resisted the strong assaults of Sathan: For although hee had made him a promise, yet hee might haue remembred [1]) throughe [2]) true repentance sinners come againe into the fauour of God; which faith the faithfull firmely holde, knowing they that kill the bodie, are not able to hurt the soule: but he was in all his opinions doubtfull, without faith or hope, and so he continued.

[1]) Th. 189. [2]) throughe] throught.

Another disputation betwixt Doctor Faustus and his Spirite, of the power of the Diuell, and of his enuie to mankinde. Chap. 14.

AFter Doctor FAUSTUS had a while pondered and sorrowed with himselfe of his wretched estate, hee called againe MEPHOSTOPHILES vnto [1]) him, commaunding him to tell him the iudgement, rule, power, attempts, tyranny and temptation of the Diuell, *and* why he was moued to such kinde of liuing: whereupon the spirit answered, this question that thou demandest of me, will turne thee to no small discontentment: therefore thou shouldst not haue desired me of such matters, for it toucheth the secrets of our kingdome, although I cannot denie to resolue thy request. Therefore know thou FAUSTUS, that so soone as my Lorde LUCIFER fell from heauen, he became a mortall enemie both to God and man, and hath vsed (as now he doth) all manner of tyranny to the destruction of man, as is manifest by diuers examples, one falling sodainly dead, another hangs himselfe, another drownes himselfe, others stabbe themselues, others vnfaithfully despayre, and so come to vtter confusion: the first man ADAM that was made perfect to the similitude of God, was by my Lord his pollicie, the whole decay of man: yea, FAUSTUS, in him was [2]) the beginning and first tyranny of my Lord LUCIFER vsed to man: the like did he with CAIN, the same with the children of ISRAEL, when they worshipped strange Gods, and fell to whoredome with strange women: the like with SAUL: so did he by the seuen husbands of her that after was the wife of TOBIAS: likewise DAGON our fellow brought to destruction 30000. men, whereupon the Arke of God was stolen: and BELIAL made DAUID to number his men,

[1]) 15, C 1. [2]) Th. 190.

whereupon were slaine 60000 also hee deceiued King SALOMON that worshipped the Gods of the heathen: and there are such Spirits innumerable [1]) that can come by men and tempt them, driue them to sinne, weaken their beliefe: for we rule the hearts of Kings and Princes, stirring them vp to warre and blood-shed; and to this intent doe wee spread our selues throughout all the world, as the vtter enemies of God, and his Sonne Christ, yea *and* all those that worship them: and that thou knowest by thy selfe FAUSTUS, how we haue dealt with thee. To this answered FAUSTUS, why then thou didst also beguile me. Yea (quoth MEPHOSTOPHILES) why should not we help thee forwards: for so soone as we saw thy heart, how thou didst despise thy degree taken in Diuinitie, and didst study to search and know the secrets of our kingdome; euen then did we enter into thee, giuing thee diuers foule and filthy cogitations, pricking thee forward in thine intent, and perswading thee that thou couldst neuer attaine to thy desire, vntill thou hast the help of some diuell: and when thou wast delighted with this, then tooke we roote in thee; *and* so firmely, that thou gauest thy selfe vnto vs, both body and soule the which thou [2]) (FAUSTUS) canst not denie. Hereat answered FAUSTUS, Thou sayest true MEPHOSTOPHILES, I [3]) cannot denie it: Ah, woe is me miserable FAUSTUS; how haue I beene deceiued: had not I desired to know so much, I had not been in this case: for hauing studied the liues of the holy Saints and Prophets, *and* therby thought my self to vnderstand sufficient in heauenly matters, I thought my self not worthy to be called doctor FAUSTUS, if I should not also know the secrets of hell, *and* be

[1]) innumerable] innmerable. [2]) Th. 191.
[3]) 16 (by mistake: 18), C 1 v°.

associated with the furious Fiend thereof; now therfore must I be rewarded accordingly. Which speeches being vttered, FAUSTUS went very sorrowfully away from MEPHOSTOPHILES.

How Doctor Faustus desired againe of his Spirit to know the secrets and paines of hell; and whether those damned Diuels and their company might euer come into the fauour of God againe or not? Chap. 15.

DOctor FAUSTUS was euer pondering with himselfe how he might get loose from so damnable an end as he had giuen himself vnto, both of body and soule: but his repentance was like to that of CAIN and IUDAS, he thought his sinnes greater then God could forgiue, hereupon rested his minde: he looked vp to heauen, but sawe nothing therein; for his heart was so possessed with the Diuel, that hee could thinke of nought els but of hell, and the paynes thereof. Wherefore in all the hast he calleth vnto him his Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES, desiring him to tell him some more of the [1]) secrets of hell, what paines the damned were in, and how they were tormented, and whether the damned soules might get againe the fauour of God, and so bee released out of their torments or not: whereupon the Spirit answered, my FAUSTUS, thou mayst wel leaue to question any more of such matters, for they wil but disquiet thy mind, I pray thee what meanest thou? Thinkest thou through these thy fantasies to escape vs? No, for if thou shouldest climb vp to heauen, there to hide thy selfe, yet would I thrust thee downe agayne; for thou art mine, and thou belongest vnto our society: therefore sweete FAUSTUS,

[1]) Th. 192.

thou wilt repent this thy foolish demaund, except thou be content that I shall tell thee nothing. Quoth FAUSTUS ragingly, I will know, or I will not liue, wherefore dispatch and tell me: to whom MEPHOSTOPHILES answered, FAUSTUS, it is no trouble vnto mee at all to tell thee, and therefore sith thou forcest mee thereto, I will tell thee things to the terror of thy soule, if thou wilt abide the hearing. Thou wilt haue me tel thee of the secrets of hell, and of the paynes thereof: know FAUSTUS, that hell hath many figures, semblances, and names, but it cannot be named nor figured in such sort vnto the liuing that are damned, as it is vnto those that are dead, and doe both see and feele the torments [1]) thereof: for hell is sayd to bee deadly, out of the which came neuer any to life agayne but one, but he is as nothing for thee to reckon vpon, hell is blood-thirstie, and is neuer satisfied: hell is a valley, into the which the damned soules fal: for so soon as the soule is out of mans [2]) body, it would gladly goe to the place from whence it came, and climbeth vp aboue the highest hils, euen to the heauens; where being by the Angels of the first MOBILE denied entertainement (in consideration of their euill life spent on the earth) they fall into the deepest pit or valley which hath no bottome, into a perpetuall fire, which shall neuer bee quenched: for like as the Flint throwne into the water, looseth not his vertue, neither is his fire extinguished; euen so the hellish fire is vnquenchable: and euen as the Flint stone in the fire being burned is red hot, and yet consumeth not: so likewise the damned soules in our hellish fire are euer burning, but their paines neuer diminishing. Therefore is hel called the euerlasting pain, in which is neither hope

[1]) 17 (by mistake: 19), C 2. [2]) Th. 193.

nor mercy: So is it called vtter darknesse, in which we see neither the light of Sunne, Moone, nor Starre: and were our darkenesse like the darknes of the night, yet were there hope of mercie, but ours is perpetuall darkenesse, cleane exempt from the face of God. Hell hath also a place within it called CHASMA, out of the which issueth all manner of thunders, lightnings, with such horrible shrikings and waylings, that ofttimes the very diuels themselues stand in feare thereof: for one while it sendeth foorth windes with exceeding snow, hayle, and raine congealing the water into yce; with the which the damned are frozen, gnash their teeth, howle and cry, and yet cannot die. Otherwhiles, it sendeth foorth most horrible hote mists or fogges, with flashing flames of fire and brimstone, wherein the sorrowfull soules of the damned lie broyling [1]) in their reiterated torments: yea FAUSTUS, hell is called a prison wherein the damned lie continually bound; it is also called PERNICIES, and EXITIUM, death, destruction, hurtfulnesse, mischiefe, a mischance, a pitifull and an euill thing worlde without end. We haue also with vs in hell a ladder, reaching of an exceeding height, as though it would touch the heauens, on which the damned ascend to seeke the blessing of God; but through their infidelitie, when they are at the very highest degree, they fall downe againe into their former miseries, complayning of the heate of that vnquenchable fire: yea sweete FAUSTUS, so must thou vnderstand of hell, the while thou art so desirous to know the secrets of our kingdome. And marke FAUSTUS, hell is the nurse of death, the heate of all fire, the shadow of heauen and earth, the obliuion of all goodnes, the paynes vnspeakeable, the griefes vnremoueable, the dwelling

[1]) Th. 194.

of Diuels, [1]) Dragons, Serpents, Adders, Toades, Crocodils, and all maner of venymous creatures, the puddle of sinne, the stinking fogge ascending from the Stigian lake, Brimstone, Pitch, and all maner of vncleane mettals, the perpetual and vnquenchable fire, the end of whose miseries was neuer purposed by God: yea, yea FAUSTUS, thou sayst, I shall, I must, nay I will tell thee the secrets of our kingdome, for thou buyest it dearely, and thou must and shalt be partaker of our torments, that (as the Lord God sayd) neuer shall cease: for hell, the womans belly, and the earth are neuer satisfied; there shalt thou abide horrible torments, trembling, gnashing of teeth, howling, crying, burning, freezing, melting, swimming in a labyrinth of miseries, scalding, burning, [2]) smoking in thine eyes, stinking in thy nose, horsenes of thy speech, deaffenesse of thine eares, trembling of thy handes, biting thine owne tongue with payne, thy hart crushed as in a presse, thy bones broken, the diuels tossing fire brands vpon thee, yea thy whole carkasse tossed vpon muckforkes from one diuel to another, yea FAUSTUS, then wilt thou wish for death, and he will flie from thee, thine vnspeakable torments shall be euery day augmented more and more, for the greater the sinne, the greater is the punishment: howe likest thou this, my FAUSTUS, a resolution answerable to thy request?

Lastly, thou wilt haue mee tell thee that which belongeth onely to God, which is, if it be possible for the damned to come againe into the fauour of God, or not: why FAUSTUS, thou knowest that this is agaynst thy promise, for what shouldst thou desire to know that, hauing alreadie giuen thy soule to the Diuell to haue the pleasure of this worlde, and to know the

[1]) 18, C 2 v°. [2]) Th. 195.

secrets of hell? therefore art thou damned, and howe canst thou then come agayne to the fauour of God? Wherefore I directly answere, no; for whomsoeuer God hath forsaken and throwne into hell, must there abide his wrath and indignation in that vnquenchable fire, where is no hope nor mercy to bee looked for, but abiding in perpetuall paines world without end: for euen as much it auaileth thee FAUSTUS, to hope for the fauour of GOD agayne, as LUCIFER himselfe, who indeede although he and we all haue a hope, yet [1]) is it to small auaile, and taketh none effect, for out of that place GOD will neither heare crying nor sighing; if he doe, thou shalt haue as little remorse, as DIUES, CAIN, or IUDAS had: what helpeth the Emperour, King, Prince, Duke, Earle, Baron, Lord, Knight, Squire or Gentleman, to crie for mercy being there? Nothing: for if on the earth they would not be Tyrants, and selfe-willed, rich with couetousnesse; proud with pomp, gluttons, drunkards, whoremongers, backbiters, robbers, murderers, [2]) blasphemers, and such like, then were there some hope to be looked for: therefore my FAUSTUS, as thou commest to hell with these qualities, thou must say with CAIN, My sinnes are greater then can be forgiuen, goe hang thy selfe with IUDAS: and lastly, bee content to suffer torments with DIUES. Therefore know FAUSTUS, that the damned haue neither ende nor time appoynted in the which they may hope to bee released, for if there were any such hope, that they but by throwing one drop of water out of the Sea in a day, vntill it were all drie: or if there were an heape of sand as high as from the earth to the heauens, that a bird carying away but one corne in a day, at the end of this so long

[1]) Th. 196. [2]) 19, C 3.

labour; that yet they might hope at the last, God would haue mercy on them, they would be comforted: but now there is no hope that God once thinkes vpon them, or that their howlings shall neuer bee heard; yea, so vnpossible, as it is for thee to hide thy self from God, or vnpossible for thee to remoue the mountaines, or to emptie the sea, or to tell the number of the drops of raine that haue falne from Heauen vntill this day, or to tell what [1]) there is most of in the worlde, yea and for a Camel to goe thorough the eye of a néedle: euen so vnpossible it is for thee FAUSTUS, and the rest of the damned, to come againe into the fauour of God. And thus FAUSTUS hast thou heard my last sentence, *and* I pray thee how doest thou like it? But know this, that I counsell thee to let me be vnmolested hereafter with such disputations, or els I will vexe thee euery limme, to thy small contentment. Doctor FAUSTUS departed from his Spirit very pensiue and sorrowful, layd him on his bed, altogether doubtful of the grace and fauour of God, wherfore he fell into fantasticall cogitations: faine he would haue had his soule at liberty again, but the diuel had so blinded him, *and* taken such deepe roote in his heart, that he could neuer think to craue Gods mercy, or if by chance hee had any good motion, straightwaies the diuel would thrust him a fayre Lady into his chamber, which fell to kissing and dalliance with him, through which meanes, he threw his godly motions in the wind, going forward stil in his wicked practises, to the vtter ruine both of his body and soule.

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[1]) Th. 197.

Another question put foorth by Doctor Faustus to his Spirite Mephostophiles of his owne estate. Chap. 16.

DOctor FAUSTUS, beeing yet desirous to heare more straunge things, called his Spirit vnto him, saying: My MEPHOSTOPHILES, I haue yet another suite vnto thee, which I pray thee [1]) denie not to resolue me of, FAUSTUS (quoth the Spirite) I am loth to reason [2]) with thee any further, for thou art neuer satisfied in thy minde, but alwayes bringest me a new. Yet I pray thee this once (quoth FAUSTUS) doe me so much fauour, as to tell me the truth in this matter, and hereafter I will be no more so earnest with thee. The Spirit was altogether against it, but yet once more he would abide him: well, (said the Spirit to FAUSTUS) what demaundest thou of mee? FAUSTUS said, I would gladly know of thee, if thou wert a man in manner and forme as I am; what wouldest thou doe to please both God and man? Whereat the Spirit smiled saying: my FAUSTUS, if I were a man as thou art, and that God had adorned me with those gifts of nature as thou once haddest; euen so long as the breath of God were by, *and* within me, would I humble my selfe vnto his Maiestie, indeuouring in all that I could to keepe his Commaundements, prayse him, glorifie him, that I might continue in his fauour, so were I sure to enioy the eternall ioy and felicity of his kingdome. FAUSTUS said, but that haue not I done. No, thou sayest true (quoth MEPHOSTOPHILES) thou hast not done it, but thou hast denied thy Lord and maker, which gaue thee the breath of life, speech, hearing, sight, and all other thy reasonable senses that thou mightest

[1]) Th. 198. [2]) 20 (by mistake: 22), C 3 v°.

vnderstand his will and pleasure, to liue to the glory and honour of his name, and to the aduancement of thy body and soule, him I say being thy maker hast thou denied and defied, yea wickedly thou hast applyed that excellent gift of thine vnderstanding, and giuen [1]) thy soule to the Diuell: therefore giue none the blame but thine owne selfe-will, thy proude and aspiring minde, which hath brought thee into the wrath of God and vtter damnation. This is most true (quoth FAUSTUS) but tell me MEPHOSTOPHILES, wouldst thou be in my case as I am nowe? Yea, saith the Spirite (and with that fetcht a great sigh) for yet would I so humble my selfe, that I would winne the fauour of God. Then (said Doctor FAUSTUS) it were time enough for me if I amended. True (said MEPHOSTOPHILES) if it were not for thy great sinnes, which are so odious and detestable in the sight of God, that it is too late for thee, for the wrath of God resteth vpon thee. Leaue off (quoth FAUSTUS) and tell me my question to my greater comfort.

Here followeth the second part of Doctor Faustus his life, and practises, vntill his end. Chap. 17.

DOctor FAUSTUS hauing receiued deniall of his Spirit, to be resolued any more in such like questions propounded; forgot all good workes, and fell to be a Kalender maker by helpe of his Spirit; [2]) and also in short time to be a good Astronomer or Astrologian: he had learned so perfectly of his Spirite the course of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, that he had the most famous name of all the Mathematicks that liued in his time; as may well appeare by his workes dedicated vnto sundry Dukes and Lords: for he did

[1]) Th. 199. [2]) 21 (by mistake: 23), C 4.

nothing without the aduice of his Spirit, which learned him to presage of matters to come, which haue come to passe since [1]) his death. The like prayse wonne he with his Kalenders, and Almanacks making, for when he presaged vpon any change, Operation, or alteration of the weather, or Elements; as winde, raine, fogges, snow, hayle, moyst, dry, warme, colde, thunder, lightening: it fell so duely out, as if an Angel of heauen had forewarned it. He did not like the vnskilfull Astronomers of our time, that set in Winter cold, moyst, ayrie, frostie; and in the Dogge-dayes, hote, dry, thunder, fire, and such like: but he set in all his works, day and houre, when, where, and how it should happen. If any thing wonderful were at hand, as death, famin, plague, or warres, he would set the time and place in true and iust order, when it should come to passe.

A question put foorth by Doctor Faustus to his Spirit concerning Astronomie. Chap. 18.

DOctor FAUSTUS falling to practise, and making his Prognostications, he was doubtfull in many poynts: wherefore hee called vnto him MEPHOSTOPHILES his spirit, saying: I finde the ground of this science very difficult to attaine vnto: for that when I conferre ASTRONOMIA and ASTROLOGIA, as the Mathematicians and auncient writers haue left in memory, I finde them to vary and very much to disagree: wherefore I pray thee to teach me the truth in this matter. To whome his Spirit answered, FAUSTUS, thou shalt know that the practitioners [2]) or speculators, or at least the first inuentors of these Artes, haue done nothing of themselues certaine, whereupon thou mayst attaine to the [3])

[1]) Th. 200. [2]) practitioners | practioners. [3]) Th. 201.

true prognosticating or presaging of things concerning the heauens, or of the influence of the Planets: for if by chance some one Mathematician or Astronomer hath left behinde him any thing worthy of memorie: they haue so blinded it with Ænigmaticall wordes, blinde Characters, and such obscure figures; that it is vnpossible for an earthly man to attaine vnto the knowledge therof, without the ayde of some Spirit, or els the special gift of God; for such are the hidden works of God from men: yet doe we Spirits that flie and fleete in all Elements, knowe such, *and* there is nothing to be done, or by the Heauens pretended, but we know [1]) it, except onely the day of Dome. Wherefore (FAUSTUS) learne of me, I will teach thee the course and recourse of ♄. ♃. ♂. ☉. ♀. ☿ and ☾. the cause of winter and summer, the exaltation and declination of the Sunne, the eclipse of the Moone, the distance and height of the Poles, and euery fixed Starre, the nature and operation of the elements, fire, ayre, water, and earth, and all that is contained in them, yea herein there is nothing hidden from me, but onely the fift essence, which once thou hadst FAUSTUS at liberty, but now FAUSTUS thou hast lost it past recouery: wherfore leauing that which wil not be againe had, learne now of me to make thunder, lightening, hayle, snow, and raine: the cloudes to rent, the earth and craggie rockes to shake and split in sunder, the Seas to swell, and rore, and ouer-run their markes. Knowest not thou that the deeper the Sunne shines, the hotter he pearces: so, the more thy Arte is famous whilest thou art here, the greater shall be thy name when thou art [2]) gone. Knowest not thou that the earth is frozen cold and dry; the water running, colde

[1]) 22, C 4 v°. [2]) Th. 202.

and moyst; the ayre flying, hote and moist; the fire consuming, hote and drie? Yea FAUSTUS, so must thy heart bee enflamed lik the fire to mount on high: learne, FAUSTUS, to flie like my selfe, as swift as thought from one kingdome to another, to sit at princes tables, to eate their daintiest fare, to haue thy pleasure of their fayre Ladies, wiues, and concubines, to vse their iewels, and costly robes as things belonging to thee, and not vnto them: learne of mee, FAUSTUS, to runne through wals, doores, and gates of stone and yron, to creepe into the earth like a worme, to swimme in the water like a fish, to flie in the ayre like a bird, and to liue and nourish thy selfe in the fire like a Salamander; so shalt thou be famous, renowmed, far-spoken of, and extolled for thy skill: going on kniues, not hurting thy feete; carying fire in thy bosome, and not burning thy shirt; seeing through the heauens as through a Christall, wherein is placed the Planets, with all the rest of the presaging Comets, the whole circuite of the worlde from the East to the West, North and South: there shalt thou know, FAUSTUS, wherefore the fiery spheare aboue 5 and the signes of the Zodiack doth not burne *and* consume the whole face of the earth, being hindered by placing the two moyst elements between them, the ayrie cloudes and the wauering waues of water: yea, FAUSTUS, I will learne thee the secrets of nature, what the causes that the Sun in summer being at the highest, giueth all his heate downewards on the earth; and being in winter at the lowest, giueth all his heate [1]) vpward into the heauens: that the snow should be of so great vertue, as the honie; and the Lady SATURNIA ♄ in OCCULTO, more hotter then the Sun in MANIFESTO. Come on [2])

[1]) Th. 203. [2]) 23, D 1.

my FAUSTUS, I will make thée as perfect in these things as my selfe, I will learne thee to goe inuisible, to finde out the mines of golde and siluer, the fodines of precious stones, as the Carbuncle, the Diamond, Saphir, Emerald, Rubie, Topas, Iacinct, Granat, Iaspis, Amathist, vse all these at thy pleasure, take thy hearts desire: thy time FAUSTUS weareth away, then why wilt thou not take thy pleasure of the worlde? Come vp, we wil goe visite Kings at their owne courtes, and at their most sumptuous banquets be their guests, if willingly they inuite vs not, then perforce wee will serue our owne turne with their best meate and daintiest wine: Agreed quoth FAUSTUS; but let mee pause a while vpon this thou hast euen now declared vnto me.

How Doctor Faustus fell into despaire with himselfe: for hauing put foorth a question vnto his Spirit, they fell at variance, whereupon the whole route of diuels appeared vnto him, threatning him sharply. Chap. 19.

DOctor FAUSTUS reuoluing with himselfe the spéeches of his Spirit, he became so wofull and sorrowfull in his cogitations, that he thought himselfe already frying in the hottest flames of hell, and lying in his muse, sodainely there appeared vnto him his Spirit, demaunding what thing so griued and troubled his conscience, whereat Doctor [1]) FAUSTUS gaue no answere: yet the Spirite very earnestly lay vpon him to know the cause; and if it were possible, he would finde remedie for his griefe, and ease him of his sorrowes. To whome FAUSTUS answered, I haue taken thée vnto mée as a seruant to doe mee seruice, and thy seruice

[1]) Th. 204.

will be very deare vnto me; yet I cannot haue any diligence of thee farther than thou list thy selfe, neither doost thou in any thing as it becommeth thée. The spirit replied, my FAUSTUS, thou knowest that I was neuer against thy commaundements as yet, but readie to serue and resolue thy questions, although I am not bound vnto thee in such respects as concerne the hurt of our kingdome, yet was I alwaies willing to answere thée, and so I am still: therefore my FAUSTUS say on boldly, what is thy will and pleasure? At which words, the spirit stole away the heart of FAUSTUS, who spake in this sorte, MEPHOSTOPHILES, tell me how and after what sorte God made the world, and all the creatures in them, and why man was made after the Image of God?

The spirit hearing this, answered, FAUSTUS thou knowest that all this is in vaine for thee to aske, I knowe that thou art sory for that thou hast done, but it auaileth thee not, for I will teare thee in thousands of pee*ces*, [1]) if thou change not thine opinions, and hereat hee vanished away. Whereat FAUSTUS al sorrowful for that he had put forth such a question, fel to weeping and to howling bitterly, not for his sinnes towards God, but for that the Diuel was departed from him so sodainely, and in such a rage. And being in this perplexitie, hee was sodainely taken in such an extreame [2]) cold, as if he should haue frozen in the place where he sate, in which, the greatest Diuel in hell appeared vnto him, with certaine of his hideous and infernal companie in the most ougliest shapes that it was possible to think vpon, and trauersing the chamber round about where FAUSTUS sate, FAUSTUS thought to himselfe, now are they come for me though

[1]) 24, D 1 v°. [2]) Th. 205.

my time bee not come, and that because I haue asked such questions of my seruant MEPHOSTOPHILES: at whose cogitations, the chiefest Diuel which was his Lord, vnto whom he gaue his soule, that was LUCIFER, spake in this sorte: FAUSTUS, I haue seene thy thoughtes, which are not as thou hast vowed vnto me, by vertue of this letter, and shewed him the Obligation that hee had written with his owne blood, wherefore I am come to visite thee and to shewe thee some of our hellish pastimes, in hope that will drawe and confirme thy minde a little more stedfast vnto vs. Content quoth FAUSTUS, goe too, let mee see what pastime you can make. At which words, the great Diuell in his likenes sate him downe by FAUSTUS, commanding the rest of the Diuels to appeare in their forme, as if they were in hel: first entred BELIAL in forme of a Beare, with curled black haire to the ground, his eares standing vpright: within the eare was as red as blood, out of which issued flames of fire, his teeth were a foote at least long, as white as snowe, with a tayle three elles long (at the least) hauing two wings, one behinde each arme, and thus one after another they appeared to FAUSTUS in forme as they were in hell. LUCIFER himselfe sate in manner of a [1]) man, all hairie, but of a browne colour like a Squirrell, curled, and his tayle turning vpwards on his back as the Squirrels vse, I thinke hee could cracke nuts too like a Squirrel. After him came BEELZEBUB in curled hayre of hors flesh colour, his head like the head of a Bull, with a mightie payre of hornes, and two long eares downe to the grounde, and two winges on his backe, with pricking stinges like thornes: out of his wings issued flames of fire, his tayle was like a Cowe. Then came ASTAROTH

[1]) Th. 206.

in forme of a worme, going vpright on his taile; he had no feete, but a tayle like a slowe-worme: vnder his chappes grew two shorte hands, and his back was cole blacke, his belly thick in the middle, and yellow like golde, hauing many bristles on his backe like a Hedgehog. After him came CHAMAGOSTA, being white and gray mixed, ex*ceeding* [1]) curled and hayrie: hee had a head like the head of an Asse, the tayle like a Cat, and Cleaes like an Oxe, lacking nothing of an ell broade. Then came ANOBIS; this Diuell had a head like a Dog, white and black hayre in shape of a Hogge, sauing that he had but two feete, one vnder his throate, the other at his tayle: he was foure elles long, with hanging eares like a Blood-hound. After him came DYTHYCAN, he was a short theefe in forme of a Feasant, with shining feathers, and foure feete: his neck was greene, his bodie red, and his feete blacke. The last was called BRACHUS, with foure shorte feete like an Hedgehog, yellow and greene: the vpper side of his bodie was browne, and the bellie like blewe flames of fire; the tayle redde, like the tayle of a Monkey. The rest of the Diuels were in forme of [2]) vnsensible beasts, as Swine, Harts, Beares, Woolues, Apes, Buffes, Goates, Antelopes, Elephants, Dragons, Horsses, Asses, Lions, Cats, Snakes, Toades, and all manner of vgly odious Serpents and Wormes: yet came in such sorte, that euery one at his entrie into the Hall, made their reuerence vnto LUCIFER, and so tooke their places, standing in order as they came, vntill they had filled the whole Hall: wherewith sodainely fell a most horrible thunder-clap, that the house shooke as though it would haue fallen to the ground, vpon which euerie monster had a muck-fork in his hande, holding them

[1]) 25, D 2. [2]) Th. 207.

towards FAUSTUS as though they would haue runne a tilt at him: which when FAUSTUS perceiued, hee thought vpon the words of MEPHOSTOPHILES, when he tolde him how the soules in hell were tormented, being cast from Diuel to Diuel vpon muckforkes, he thought verely to haue been tormented there of them in like sort. But LUCIFER perceiuing his thought, spake to him, my FAUSTUS, how likest thou this crewe of mine? Quoth FAUSTUS, why came you not in another manner of shape? LUCIFER replied, wee cannot chaunge our hellish forme, we haue shewed ourselues heere, as we are there; yet can we blind mens eyes in such sort, that when we will we repayre vnto them, as if we were men or Angels of light, although our dwelling bee in darknesse. Then said FAUSTUS, I like not so many of you together, whereupon LUCIFER commaunded them to depart, except seauen of the principall, forthwith they presently vanished, which FAUSTUS perceiuing, hee was somewhat better comforted, and spake to LUCIFER, where is my seruant MEPHOSTOPHILES, let me see [1]) if hee can doe the like, wherevpon came a fierce Dragon, flying and spitting fire round about the house, and comming towards LUCIFER, made reuerence, and then changed himself to *the* forme of a Frier, saying, Faustus, what wilt thou? Saith FAUSTUS, I will that thou teach me to transforme my selfe in like sort [2]) as thou and the rest haue done: then LUCIFER put forth his Pawe, and gaue FAUSTUS a booke, saying holde, doe what thou wilt, which hee looking vpon, straight waies changed himselfe into a Hog, then into a Worme, then into a Dragon, and finding this for his purpose, it liked him well. Quoth he to LUCIFER, and how commeth it that all these filthy formes are

[1]) Th. 208. [2]) 26, D 2 v°.

in the world? LUCIFER answered, they are ordained of God as plagues vnto men, and so shalt thou be plagued (quoth he) whereupon, came Scorpions, Waspes, Emits, Bees, and Gnattes, which fell to stinging and biting him, and all the whole house was filled with a most horrible stinking fogge, in so much, that FAUSTUS sawe nothing, but still was tormented; wherefore hee cried for helpe saying, MEPHOSTOPHILES my faithfull seruant where art thou, helpe, helpe I pray thee: hereat his Spirite answered nothing, but LUCIFER himself said, ho ho ho FAUSTUS, how likest thou the creation of the worlde, and in continent it was cleare againe, and the Diuels and all the filthy Cattell were vanished, onely FAUSTUS was left alone; seeing nothing, but hearing the sweetest musick that euer he heard before, at which he was so rauished with delight, that he forgat the feares hee was in before: and it repented him that he had seene no more of their pastime.

How [1]) Doctor Faustus desired to see hell, and of the maner how hee was vsed therein. Chap. 20.

DOctor FAUSTUS bethinking how his time went away, and how he had spent eight yeares thereof, he ment to spend the rest to his better contentment, intending quite to forget any such motions as might offend the Diuell any more: wherefore on a time he called his spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES, and said vnto him, bring thou hither vnto mee thy Lord LUCIFER, or BELIAL: he brought him (notwithstanding) one that was called BEELZEBUB, the which asked FAUSTUS his pleasure. Quoth FAUSTUS, I would knowe of thee if I may see Hell and take a view thereof? That thou shalt (said the diuell) and at midnight I will fetch thee. Well,

[1]) Th. 209.

night being come, Doctor FAUSTUS awaited very diligently for the comming of the Diuell to fetch him, and thinking that hee tarried all too long, he went to the window, where hee pulled open a cazement, and looking into the Element, hee sawe a cloude in the North more black, darke and obscure, than all the rest of the Sky, from whence the winde blew most horrible right into FAUSTUS his chamber, filled the whole house with smoake, that FAUSTUS was almost smothered: hereat fell an exceeding thunderclap, and withall came a great rugged black Beare [1]), all curled, *and* vpon his backe a chayre of beaten golde, and spake to FAUSTUS, saying, sit vp and away [2]) with me: and Doctor FAUSTUS that had so long abode the smoake, wisht rather to be in hell than there, got on the Diuell, and so they went together. But marke how the Diuell blinded him, and made him beleeue that he carried him into hell, for he caried him into the ayre, where FAUSTUS fell into a sound sleepe, as if hee had sate in a warme water or bath: at last they came to a place which burneth continually with flashing flames of fire and brimstone, whereout issued an exceeding mighty clap of thunder, with so horrible a noyse, that FAUSTUS awaked, but the Diuell went forth on his way and caried FAUSTUS therinto, yet notwithstanding, howsoeuer it burnt, Doctor FAUSTUS felt no more heate, than as it were the glimps of the Sunne in May: there heard he all manner of musicke to welcome him, but sawe none playing on them; it pleased him well, but he durst not aske, for hee was forbidden it before. To meet the Diuel *and* the guest that came with him, came three other ougly Diuels, the which ran back againe before the Beare to make

[1]) 27, D 3. [2]) Th. 210.

them way, against whome there came running an exceeding great Hart, which would haue thrust FAUSTUS out of his chayre, but being defended by the other three Diuels, the Hart was put to the repulse: thence going on their way FAUSTUS looked, and beholde there was nothing but Snakes, and all manner of venemous beastes about him, which were exceeding great, vnto the which Snakes came many Storks, and swallowed vp all the whole multitude of Snakes, that they left not one: which when FAUSTUS sawe, he marueiled greatly: but proceeding further on their hellish voyage, there came [1]) forth of a hollow cliffe an exceeding great flying Bull, the which with such a force hit FAUSTUS his chayre with his head and hornes, that he turned FAUSTUS and his Beare ouer and ouer, so that the Beare vanished away, whereat FAUSTUS began to crie: oh, woe is mee that euer I came here: for hee thought there to haue been beguiled of the Diuel, and to make his ende before his time appointed or conditioned of the Diuel: but shortly came vnto him a monstrous Ape, bidding FAUSTUS bee of good cheare, and said, get vpon me; all the fire in hel seemed to FAUSTUS to haue been put out, wherevpon followed a monstrous thick fogge, that hee sawe nothing, but shortly it seemed to him to waxe cleare, where he saw two great Dragons fastned to a waggon, into the which the Ape ascended and set FAUSTUS therein; foorth flewe the Dragons into an exceeding darke cloude, where FAUSTUS saw neither Dragon nor Chariot wherein he sat, and such were the cries of tormented soules, with mightie thunder-claps and flashing light*nings* [2]) about his eares, that poore FAUSTUS shooke for feare. Upon this came they to a water, stinking and filthie, thick

[1]) Th. 211. [2]) 28, D 3 v°.

like mudde, into the which ran the Dragons, sinking vnder with waggon and all; but FAUSTUS felt no water but as it were a small mist, sauing that the waues beate so sore vpon him, that hee saw nothing vnder and ouer him but only water, in the which he lost his Dragons, Ape, and waggon; and sinking yet deeper and deeper, hee came at last as it were vpon an high Rock, where the waters parted and left him thereon: but when the water was gone [1]), it seemed to him hee should there haue ended his life, for he saw no way but death: the Rocke was as high from the bottome as Heauen is from the earth: there sate he, seeing nor hearing any man, and looked euer vpon the Rocke; at length hee saw a little hole, out of the which issued fire; thought he, how shall I now doe? I am forsaken of the Diuels, and they that brought mee hither, here must I either fall to the bottome, or burne in the fire, or sit still in despaire: with that in his madnesse he gaue a leape into the fierie hole, saying: holde you infernall Hagges, take here this sacrifice as my last ende; the which I iustly haue deserued: vpon this he was entred, and finding himselfe as yet vnburned or touched of the fire, he was the better appayed, but there was so great a noyse as he neuer heard the like before, it passed all the thunder that euer he had heard; *and* comming down further to the bottome of the Rocke, he sawe a fire, wherein were many worthie and noble personages, as Emperours, Kings, Dukes and Lords, and many thousands more of tormented soules, at the edge of which fire ran a most pleasant, cleare, and coole water to beholde, into the which many tormented soules sprang out of the fire to coole themselues; but being so freezing cold, they were constrained

[1]) Th. 212.

to returne againe into the fire, and thus wearied themselues and spent their endles torments out of one labyrinth into another, one while in heate, another while in colde: but FAUSTUS standing thus all this while gazing on them that were thus tormented, hee sawe one leaping out of the fire and scriching horriblie, whome he thought to haue knowne, wherefore he would faine haue spoken vnto him, but remembring [1]) that hee was forbidden, hee refrained speaking. Then this Diuel that brought him in, came to him againe in likenes of a Beare, with the chayre on his back, and bad him sit vp, for it was time to depart: so FAUSTUS got vp, and the Diuel caried him out into the ayre, where he had so sweete musick that hee fell asleepe by the way. His boy CHRISTOPHER being all this while at home, and missing his master so long, thought his master would haue taried and dwelt with the Diuell for euer: but whilest his boy was in these *cogitations* [2]), his master came home, for the Diuel brought him home fast asleepe as he sate in his chayre, and so he threw him on his bed, where (being thus left of the Diuel) he lay vntil day. When hee awaked, hee was amazed, like a man that had been in a darke dungeon; musing with himselfe if it were true or false that he had seene hel, or whether he was blinded or not: but he rather perswaded himself that he had been there than otherwise, because he had seene such wonderful things: wherefore he most carefully tooke pen and incke, and wrote those thinges in order as hee had seene: the which writing was afterwards found by his boy in his studie; which afterwards was published to the whole citie of WITTENBERG in open print, for example to all Christians.

[1]) Th. 213. [2]) 29, D 4.

How [1]) Doctor Faustus was carried through the ayre vp to the heauens to see the world, and how the Skie and Planets ruled: after the which he wrote one letter to his friend of the same to Liptzig, how he went about the world in eight daies. Chap. 21.

THis letter was found by a freeman and Citizen of WITTENBERG, written with his own hande, and sent to his friend at LIPTZIG a Phisition, named IOUE VICTORI, the contents of which were as followeth.

Amongst other things (my louing friend and brother) I remember yet the former friendship had together, when wee were schoolefellowes and students in the Uniuersitie at WITTENBERG, whereas you first studied Phisicke, Astronomie, Astrologie, Geometrie, and Cosmographie; I to the contrarie (you know) studied Diuinitie: notwithstanding now in any of your owne studies I am seene (I am perswaded) further then your selfe: for sithence I began I haue neuer erred, for (might I speake it without affecting my owne praise) my Kalendars and other practises haue not onely the commendations of the common sorte, but also of the chiefest Lordes and Nobles of this our Dutch Nation: because (which is chiefly to be noted) I write and presaged of matters to come, which all accorde and fall out so right, as if they had been alreadie seene before. And for that (my beloued VICTORI) you write to know my voyage which I made into [2]) the Heauens, the which (as you certifie me you haue had some suspition of, although you partly perswaded your selfe, that it is a thing vnpossible) no matter for that, it is as it is, and let it be as it will, once it was done, in such maner as now according vnto your request I giue you here to vnderstand.

[1]) Th. 214. [2]) Th. 215.

I being once laide on my bed, and could not sleepe for thinking on my [1]) Kalender and practise, I marueiled with my selfe how it were possible that the Firmament should bee knowne and so largely written of men, or whether they write true or false, by their owne opinions, or supposition, or by due obseruations and true course of the heauens. Beholde, being in these my muses, sodainly I heard a great noyse, in so much that I thought my house would haue been blowne downe, so that all my doores and chestes flewe open, whereat I was not a little astonied, for withall I heard a groning voyce which said, get vp, the desire of thy heart, minde, and thought shalt thou see: at the which I answered, what my heart desireth, that would I faine see, and to make proofe, if I shall see I will away with thee. Why then (quoth hee) looke out at thy windowe, there commeth a messenger for thee, that did I, and beholde, there stoode a Waggon, with two Dragons before it to drawe the same, and all the Waggon was of a light burning fire, and for that the Moone shone, I was the willinger at that time to depart: but the voyce spake againe, sit vp and let vs away: I will, said I, goe with thee, but vppon this condition, that I may aske after all things that I see, heare, or thinke on: the voyce answered, I am content for this time. Hereupon [2]) I got me into the Waggon, so that the Dragons caried me vpright into *the* ayre. The Waggon had also foure wheels the which ratled so, and made such a noyse as if we had been all this while running on the stones: and round about vs flew out flames of fier, and the higher that I came, the more the earth seemed to be darkened, so that me thought I came out of a dungeon, and looking downe

[1]) 30, D 4 v°. [2]) Th. 216.

from Heauen, beholde, MEPHOSTOPHILES my Spirit and seruant was behinde me, and when he perceiued that I saw him, he came and sate by mee, to whome I said, I pray thee MEPHOSTOPHILES whether shall I goe now? Let not that trouble thy minde, said hee, and yet they caried vs higher vp. And now will I tell thee good friend and schoole-fellow, what things I haue seene and prooued; for on the Tewsday went I out, and on Tewsday seuen-nights following I came home againe, that is, eight dayes, in which time I slept not, no not one winke came in mine eyes, and we went inuisible of any man: and as the daye began to appeare, after our first nights iorney, I saide to my Spirite MEPHOSTOPHILES, I pray thee how farre haue wee now ridden, I am sure thou knowest: for me thinkes that we are ridden exceeding farre, the Worlde seemeth so little: MEPHOSTOPHILES answered mee, my FAUSTUS beleeue mee, that from the place from whence thou camst, vnto this place where wee are now, is already 47. leagues right in height, and as the day increased, I looked downe vpon the Worlde, there [1]) saw I many kingdomes and prouinces, likewise the whole world, ASIA, EUROPA and AFRICA, I had a sight of: and [2]) being so high, quoth I to my Spirit, tell me now how these kingdomes lye, and what they are called, the which he denied not, saying, see this on our left hand is HUNGARIA, this is also PRUSSIA on our left hand, and POLAND, MUSCOUIA, TARTASCELESIA, BOHEMIA, SAXONY: and here on our right hand, SPAINE, PORTUGAL, FRANCE, ENGLAND, and SCOTLAND: then right out before vs lie the kingdoms of PERSIA, INDIA, ARABIA, the King of ALCHAR, and the great CHAM: nowe are we come to WITTENBERG, and are right ouer the towne

[1]) 31, E 1. [2]) Th. 217.

of WEIM in AUSTRIA, and ere long will we be at CONSTANTINOPLE, TRIPOLIE, and IERUSALEM, and after will we pearce the frozen Zone, and shortly touch the Horizon, and the Zenith of WITTENBERG. There looked I on the OCEAN Sea, and beheld a great many of ships *and* Gallies ready to the battaile, one against another: and thus I spent my iourney, now cast I my eies here, now there, toward South, North, East, and West, I haue béen in one place where it rained and hailed, and in another where the Sun shone excellent fayre, and so I thinke that I saw the most things in and about the world, with great admiration that in one place it rained, and in an other hayle and snow, on this side the Sunne shone bright, some hils couered with snow neuer consuming, other were so hot that grasse and trees were burned and consumed therewith. Then looked I vp to the heauens, and behold, they went so swift, that I thought they would haue sprong in thousands. Likewise it was so cleare and so hot, that I could not long gaze into it, it so dimmed my sight: *and* had not my Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES [1]) couered me as it were with a shadowing cloude, I had been burnt with the extreame heat thereof, for the Skie the which we beholde here when we looke vp from the earth, is so fast and thicke as a wal, cleare and shining bright as a Christal, in the which is placed the Sunne, which casteth foorth his rayes or beames ouer the vniuersall worlde, to the vttermost confines of the earth. But we thinke that the Sun is very little: no, it is al together as big as the world. Indeed the body substantiall is but little in compasse, but the rayes or streame that it casteth forth, by reason of the thing wherein it is placed, maketh him to extend

[1]) Th. 218.

and shew himselfe ouer the whole world: and we thinke that the Sunne runneth his course, and that the heauens stand still: no, it is the heauens that moue his course, and the Sun abideth perpetually in his place, he is permanent, *and* fixed in his place, *and* although we see him beginning to ascend in the Orient or East, at the highest in the Meridian or South, setting in the Occident or West, yet is hee at the [1]) lowest in Septentrio or North, and yet he moueth not. It is the axle of the heauens that moueth the whole firmamen*t*, being a Chaos or confused thing, and for that proofe, I will shew thee this example, like as thou seest a bubble made of water and sope blowne forth of a quill, is in forme of a confused masse or Chaos, *and* being in this forme, is moued at pleasure of the wind, which runneth round about that Chaos, *and* moueth him also round: euen so is the whole firmament or Chaos, wherein are placed the sun, and the rest of the Planets turned and [2]) caried at the pleasure of the Spirit of God, which is wind. Yea Christian Reader, to the glory of God, and for the profite of thy soule, I wil open vnto thee the diuine opinion touching the ruling of this confused Chaos, farre more than any rude Germane Author, being possessed with the diuell, was able to vtter; and to prooue some of my sentence before to be true, looke into GENESIS vnto the workes of God, at the creation of the world, there shalt thou finde, that the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters before heauen and earth were made. Marke how he made it, and howe by his word euery element tooke his place: these were not his workes, but his words; for all the words he vsed before, he concluded afterwards in one worke,

[1]) 32, E 1 v°. [2]) Th. 219.

which was in making man: marke reader with patience for thy soules health, see into all that was done by the word and worke of God, light and darkenes was, the firmament stoode, and their great ☉ *and* little light ☽ in it: the moyst waters were in one place, the earth was dry, *and* euery element brought foorth according to the word of God: now followeth his workes he made man like his owne image, how? out of the earth? The earth wil shape no image without water, there was one of the elements. But all this while where was winde? all elements were at the word of God, man was made, and in a forme by the worke of God, yet moued not that worke, before God breathed the Spirit of life into his nostrils, and made him a liuing soule, here was the first wind and Spirit of God out of his owne mouth, which wee haue likewise from the same seede which was onely planted [1]) by God in ADAM, which winde, breath, or spirit, when he had receiued, hee was liuing *and* moouing on earth, for it was ordayned of God for his habitation, but the heauens are the habitation of the Lord: and like as I shewed before of the bubble or confused Chaos made of water and sope, through the wind and breath of man is turned round, and carried with euery wind; euen so the firmament wherein the Sun and the rest of the Planets are fixed, moued, turned, and carried with the winde, breath, or Spirit of God, for the heauens and firmament are moueable as the Chaos, but the sun is fixed in the firmament. And farther my good schoolefellow [2]), I was thus nigh the heauens, where me thought euery Planet was but as halfe the earth, and vnder the firmament ruled the Spirits in the ayre, and as I came downe I looked vpon the worlde *and*

[1]) Th. 220. [2]) 33, E 2.

the heauens, and me thought that the earth was inclosed in comparison within the firmament, as the yolke of an egge within the white, and me thought that the whole length of the earth was not a span long, and the water was as if it had been twise as broad and long as the earth, euen thus at the eight dayes end came I home againe, *and* fell a sleepe, and so I continued sleeping three dayes and three nights together: *and* the first houre that I waked, I fell fresh againe to my Kalender, and haue made them in right ample maner as you know, and to satisfie your request, for that you writ vnto me, I haue in consideration of our olde friendship had at the Uniuersitie of WITTENBERG, declared vnto you my heauenly voyage, wishing no worse vnto you, than vnto my selfe, that [1]) is, that your minde were as mine in all respects. Dixi.

Doctor Faustus the Astrologian.

How Doctor Faustus made his iourney thorough the principal and most famous lands in the world. Chap. 22.

DOctor FAUSTUS hauing ouer-runne fifteen yeers of his appointed time, he tooke vpon him a iourney, with ful pretence to see the whole world: and calling his spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES vnto him, he sayd: thou knowest that thou art bound vnto me vpon conditions, to performe and fulfill my desire in all thengs, wherfore my pretence is to visite the whole face of the earth visible *and* inuisible when it pleaseth me: wherfore, I enioyne and command thée to the same. Whereupon MEPHOSTOPHILES answered, I am ready my Lord at thy command *and* foorthwith the Spirit changed

[1]) Th. 221.

himselfe into the likenes of a flying horse, saying, FAUSTUS sit vp, I am ready. Doctor FAUSTUS loftily sate vpon him, *and* forward they went: FAUSTUS came thorough many a land *and* Prouince; as PANNONIA, AUSTRIA, GERMANIA, BOHEMIA, SLESIA, SAXONY, MISSENE, DURING, FRANCKLANDT, SHAWBLANDT, BEYERLANDT, STIRIA, CARINTHIA, POLAND, LITAW, LIEFLAND, PRUSSIA, DENMARKE, MUSCOUIA, TARTARIA, TURKIE, PERSIA, CATHAI, ALEXANDRIA, BARBARIA, GINNIE, PERU, the strayghts of MAGELANES, INDIA, all about the frozen ZONE, and TERRA INCOGNITA, NOUA HISPANIOLA, the Isles of TERZERA, MEDERI, S. MICHAELS, the [1]) CANARIES, and the TENORRIFOCIE, into SPAINE, the MAYNE LAND, PORTUGALL, ITALIE, CAMPANIA, the Kingdome of NAPLES, the Isles of SICILIA, MALTA, MAIORIA, MINORIA, to the Knights of the RHODES, CANDIE, or CREETE, [2]) CIPRUS, CORINTH, SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, FREESLAND, WESTPHALIA, ZELAND, HOLLAND, BRABANT, and all the 17. Prouinces in NETHERLAND, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND, all AMERICA, and ISLAND, the out Isles of SCOTLAND, the ORCHADES, NORWAY, the Bishoprick of BREAME, and so home agayne: all these Kingdomes, Prouinces and Countries he passed in 25. dayes, in which time he saw very little that delighted his minde: wherefore he tooke a little rest at home, and burning in desire to see more at large, and to beholde the secrets of each kingdome, he set forward again on his iourney vpon his swift horse MEPHOSTOPHILES, and came to TREIR, for that he chiefly desired to see this towne, and the monuments thereof; but there he saw not many wonders, except one fayre Pallace that belonged vnto the Bishop, and also a mighty large Castle that was built of bricke, with three walles and three great

[1]) Th. 222. [2]) 34, E 2 v°.

trenches, so strong, that it was impossible for any princes power to win it; then he saw a Church, wherein was buried SIMEON, and the Bishop POPO: their Tombes are of most sumptuous large Marble stone, closed and ioyned together with great bars of yron: from whence he departed to PARIS, where hee liked well the Academie; and what place or Kingdome soeuer fell in his minde, the same he visited. He came from PARIS to MENTZ, where the riuer of MAYNE fals into the RHINE; notwithstanding he [1]) taried not long there, but went to CAMPANIA in the Kingdome of NEAPOLIS, in which he saw an innumerable [2]) sort of Cloysters, Nunneries, and Churches, great and high houses of stone, the streetes fayre and large, and straight foorth from one end of the towne to the other as a line, and al the pauement of the Citie was of brick, and the more it rayned in the towne, the fayrer the streetes were; there saw he the Tombe of Virgil; *and* the high way that hee cutte through that mighty hill of stone in one night, the whole length of an English mile: then he saw the number of Gallies, and Argozies that lay there at the Citie head, the Windmil that stood in the water, the Castle in the water, and the houses aboue the water where vnder the Gallies might ride most safely from raine or winde; then he saw the Castle on the hil ouer the towne, and many monuments within: also the hil called VESUVIUS, whereon groweth all the Greekish wine, and most pleasant sweet Oliues. From thence he came to VENICE, whereas he wondered not a little to see a Citie so famously built standing in the Sea: where, through euery streete the water ranne in such largenes, that great Ships and Barks might passe from one streete

[1]) Th. 223. [2]) innumerable] innmerable.

to another, hauing yet a way on both sides the water, whereon men and horse might passe; he maruailed also howe it was possible for so much victual to be found in the towne and so good cheape, considering that [1]) for a whole league off nothing grew neere the same. He wondred not a little at the fayrenes of Saint MARKES place, and the sumptuous Church standing therein called Saint MARKES; how all the pauement was set with [2]) coloured stones, and all the Roode or loft of the Church double gilded ouer. Leauing this, he came to PADOA, beholding the maner of their Academie, which is called the mother or nurse of Christendome, there he heard the Doctors, and saw the most monuments in the towne, entred his name into the Uniuersitie of the Germane nation, and wrote himselfe Doctor FAUSTUS the vnsatiable Speculator: then saw he the worthiest monument in the world for a Church, named S. ANTHONIES Cloyster, which for the pinacles thereof, and the contriuing of the Church, hath not the like in Christendome. This towne is fenced about with three mighty walles of stone and earth, betwixt the which runneth goodly ditches of water: twise euery 24. houres passeth boates betwixt PADOA and VENICE with passengers, as they doe here betwixt LONDON and GRAUESEND, and euen so far they differ in distance: FAUSTUS beheld likewise the Counsaile house *and* the Castle with no small wonder. Well, forward he went to ROME, which lay, *and* doth yet lie, on the riuer TYBRIS, the which deuideth the Citie in two parts: ouer the riuer are foure great stone bridges, and vpon the one bridge called PONTE S. ANGELO is the Castle of S. ANGELO, wherein are so many great cast peeces as there are

[1]) 35, E 3. [2]) Th. 224.

dayes in a yeare, *and* such Pieces that will shoote seuen bullets off with one fire, to this Castle commeth a priuie vault from the Church and Pallace of Saint PETER, through the which the Pope (if any danger be) passeth from his Pallace to the Castle for safegard; the Citie hath eleuen gates, and a hill called VATICINIUM, [1]) whereon S. PETERS Church is built: in that Church the holie Fathers will heare no confession, without the penitent bring mony in his hand. Adioyning to this Church, is the CAMPO SANTO, the which CAROLUS MAGNUS [2]) built, where euery day thirteen Pilgrims haue their dinners serued of the best: that is to say, Christ and his twelue Apostles. Hard by this he visited the Church yard of S. PETERS, where he saw the PYRAMIDE that IULIUS CÆSAR brought out of AFRICA; it stood in FAUSTUS his time leaning against the Church wall of Saint PETERS, but now PAPA SIXTUS hath erected it in the middle of S. PETERS Church yard; it is 24. fathom long and at the lower end sixe fathom foure square, and so forth smaller vpwards, on the top is a Crucifixe of beaten golde, the stone standeth on foure Lyons of brasse. Then he visited the seuen Churches of ROME, that were S. PETERS, S. PAULS, S. SEBASTIANS, S. IOHN LATERAN, S. LAURENCE, S. MARY MAGDALEN, and S. MARIE MAIORA: then went he without [3]) the towne, where he saw the conduits of water that runne leuell through hill and dale, bringing water into the town fifteen Italian miles off: other monuments he saw, too many to recite, but amongst the rest he was desirous to see the Popes Pallace, and his maner of seruice at his table, wherefore he and his Spirit made themselues inuisible, and came into the Popes Court, and priuie chamber where

[1]) Th. 225. [2]) Magnus] Maguus. [3]) 36, E 3 v°.

he was, there saw he many seruants attendant on his holines, with many a flattering Sycophant carrying of his meate, and there hee marked the Pope and the manner of his seruice, [1]) which hee seeing to bee so vnmeasurable and sumptuous; fie (quoth FAUSTUS) why had not the Diuel made a Pope of me? FAUSTUS saw notwithstanding in that place those that were like to himselfe, proud, stout, wilfull, gluttons, drunkards, whoremongers, breakers of wedlocke, and followers of all manner of vngodly exercises: wherefore he said to his Spirit, I thought that I had been alone a hogge, or porke of the diuels, but he must beare with me yet a little longer, for these hogs of ROME are already fatned, and fitted to make his roste-meate, the Diuel might doe well nowe to spit them all and haue them to the fire, and let him summon the Nunnes to turne the spits: for as none must confesse the Nunne but the Frier, so none should turne the rosting Frier but the Nunne. Thus continued FAUSTUS three dayes in the Popes Pallace, and yet had no lust to his meate, but stood still in the Popes chamber, and saw euery thing whatsoeuer it was: on a time the Pope would haue a feast prepared for the Cardinall of PAUIA, and for his first welcome the Cardinall was bidden to dinner: and as he sate at meate, the Pope would euer be blessing and crossing ouer his mouth; FAUSTUS could suffer it no longer, but vp with his fist and smote the Pope on the face, and withall he laughed that the whole house might heare him, yet none of them sawe him nor knew where he was: the Pope perswaded his company that it was a damned soule, commanding a Masse presently to be said for his deliuerie out of Purgatory, which was done: the Pope sate still at

[1]) Th. 226.

meate, but when the latter messe came in to the Popes boord, Doctor FAUSTUS [1]) laid hands thereon saying; this is mine: *and* so he took both dish *and* meate *and* fled vnto the Capitol or Campadolia, calling his spirit vnto him and said: come let vs be merry, for thou must fetch me some wine, *and* the cup that the Pope drinkes of, *and* here vpon MONTE CAUAL will wee make good cheare in spight of the Pope *and* al his fat abbie lubbers. His spirit hearing this, departed towards the Popes chamber, where he found the*m* yet sitting and quaffing: wherefore he tooke from before the Pope the fairest peece of plate or drinking goblet, *and* a flaggon of wine, *and* brought it [2]) to FAUSTUS; but when the Pope and the rest of his crue perceiued they were robbed, and knew not after what sort, they perswaded themselues that it was the damned soule that before had vexed the Pope so, *and* that smote him on the face, wherefore he sent commandement through al the whole Citie of ROME, that they should say Masse in euery Church, and ring al the bels for to lay the walking Spirit, *and* to curse him with Bel, Booke, and Candle, that so inuisiblie had misused the Popes holinesse, with the Cardinall of PAUIA, and the rest of their company: but FAUSTUS notwithstanding made good cheare with *that* which he had beguiled *the* pope of, and in the middest of the order of Saint BARNARDS bare footed Friers, as they were going on Procession through the market place, called CAMPA DE FIORE, he let fall his plate dishes and cup, and withall for a farwell he made such a thunder-clap and a storme of raine, as though Heauen and earth should haue met together, and so he left ROME [3]), and came to MILLAIN in ITALIE, neere the Alpes or borders of SWITZERLAND,

[1]) Th. 227. [2]) 37, E 4. [3]) Th. 228.

where hee praysed much to his Spirit the pleasantnesse of the place, the Citie being founded in so braue a plaine, by the which ranne most pleasant riuers on euery side of the same, hauing besides within the compasse or circuit of seuen miles, seuen small Seas: he sawe also therein many fayre Pallaces *and* goodly buildings, the Dukes Pallace, and the mighty strong Castle, which is in maner halfe the bignes of the towne. Moreouer, it liked him well to see the Hospitall of Saint MARYES, with diuers other things. He did nothing there worthy of memorie, but hee departed backe agayne towards BOLOGNIA, and from thence to FLORENCE, where hee was well pleased to see the pleasant walke of Merchants, the goodly vaults of the citie, for that almost the whole City is vaulted, *and* the houses themselues are built outwardly, in such sort that the people may go vnder them as vnder a vault: then hee perused the sumptuous Church in the Dukes Castle called NOSTRA DONNA, our Ladies Church, in which he saw many monuments, as a Marble doore most huge to looke vpon: the gate of the Castle was Bell mettall, wherein are grauen the holy Patriarkes, with Christ and his twelue Apostles, and diuers other histories out of the olde and new Testament. Then went he to SENA, where he highly praysed the church and Hospital of SANTA MARIA FORMOSA, with the goodly buildings [1]), and especially the fayrenesse and greatnesse of the Citie, and beautifull women. Then came he to LYONS in FRANCE, where hee marked the scituation of the Citie, which lay betweene [2]) two hilles, inuironed with two waters: one worthy monument in the citie pleased him wel, that was the great Church with the Image therin; he commended *the*

[1]) buildings | buidings. [2]) Th. 229.

Citie [1]) highly for the great resort that it had vnto it of strangers. From thence he went to CULLIN, which lieth vpon the Riuer of RHINE, wherein he saw one of the auncientest monuments of the worlde, the which was the Tombe of the three Kings that came by the Angel of God, *and* their knowledge they had in the starre, to worship Christ: which when FAUSTUS saw, he spake in this manner. Ah, alas good men how haue you erred and lost your way, you should haue gone to PALESTINA and BETHELEM in IUDEA, how came you hither? or belike after your death you were throwne into MARE MEDITERRANEUM about TRIPOLIS in SYRIA; and so you fleeted out of the Straights of GIBLATERRA into the Ocean Sea, and so into the bay of PORTUGAL; *and* not finding any rest you were driuen alongst the coast of GALICIA, BISKAY, and FRANCE, and into the narrow Seas, then from thence into MARE GERMANICUM, and so I think taken vp about the towne of DORT in HOLLAND, you were brought to CULLIN to bee buried: or else I think you came more easily with a whirlewind ouer the Alpes, and being throwne into the Riuer of RHINE, it conuayed you to this place, where you are kept as a monument? There sawe he the Church of S. VRSULA, where remaines a monument of the 1000. Virgins: it pleased him also to see the beauty of the women. Not farre from CULLIN lyeth the towne of ACH, where he saw the gorgeous Temple that the Emperour CAROLUS QUARTUS built of Marble [2]) stone for a remembrance of him, to the end that all his successors should there be crowned. From CULLIN and ACH, he went to GEUF, a Citie in SAUOY, lying neere SWITZERLAND: it is a towne of great trafficke, the Lorde thereof is a Bishop, whose Wine-celler FAUSTUS, and

[1]) 38, E 4 v°. [2]) Th. 230.

his Spirit visited for the loue of his good wine. From thence he went to STRASBURG, where he beheld the fayrest steeple that euer he had seene in his life before, for on each side therof he might see through it, euen from the couering of the Minister to the top of the Pinacle, and it is named one of the wonders of the worlde: wherefore he demaunded why it was called STRASBURG: his Spirit answered, because it hath so many high wayes comming to it on euery side, for STRAS in Dutch is a high way, and hereof came the name, yea (sayd MEPHOSTOPHILES) the Church which thou so wonderest at, hath more reuenues belonging to it, then the twelue Dukes of SLESIA are worth, for there pertaine vnto this Church 55. Townes, and 463. Villages besides many houses in the Towne. From hence went FAUSTUS to BASILE in SWITZERLAND, whereas the Riuer of RHINE runneth thorough the towne, parting the same as the Riuer of THAMES doth LONDON: in this towne of BASILE he saw many rich Monuments, the towne walled with brick, and round about without it goeth a great trench: no [1]) Church pleased him but the Iesuites Church, which was so sumptuouslie builded, and beset full of Alabaster pillers. FAUSTUS demanded of his Spirite, how it tooke the name of BASYL: his Spirite made answere and saide, that before this Citie was founded, there vsed a BASILISCUS, a kinde of Serpent, this Serpent killed as many men, women [2]), and children, as it tooke a sight of: but there was a Knight that made himselfe a couer of Christall to come ouer his head, and so downe to the ground, and being first couered with a blacke cloth, ouer that he put the Christall, and so boldlie went to see the BASILISCUS, and finding the place where he haunted, he expected

[1]) 39, F 1. [2]) Th. 231.

his comming, euen before the mouth of her caue: where standing a while, the BASYLIKE came forth, who, when shee sawe her owne venemous shadowe in the Christall, shee split in a thousand peeces; wherefore the Knight was richlie rewarded of the Emperour: after the which the Knight founded this Towne vpon the place where he had slaine the Serpent, and gaue it the name of BASYL, in remembrance of his deede.

From BASYL FAUSTUS went to COSTUITZ in SWEITZ, at the head of the RHINE, where is a most sumptuous Bridge, that goeth ouer the RHINE, euen from the gates of the Towne vnto the other side of the streame: at the head of the Riuer of RHINE, is a small Sea, called of the SWITZERS the black Sea, twentie thousand paces long, and fiftie hundred paces broad. The towne COSTUITZ tooke the name of this; the Emperour gaue it to a Clowne for expounding of his riddle, wherefore the Clowne named the Towne COSTUITZ, that is in English, cost nothing. From COSTUITZ hee came to VLME, where hee sawe the sumptuous Towne-house built by two and fiftie of the ancient Senators of the Citie, it tooke the name of VLMA, for that the whole land thereabout are full of Elmes: but FAUSTUS minding to depart from thence, his Spirite saide vnto him: FAUSTUS [1]) thinke on the towne as thou wilt, it hath three Dukedomes belonging to it, the which they haue bought with readie monie. From VLME, he came to WARTZBURG the chiefest towne in FRANKELANDT, wherein the Bishop al together keepeth his Court, through the which Towne passeth the Riuer of MAYNE that runnes into the RHINE: thereabout groweth strong and pleasant wine, tho which FAUSTUS wel prooued. The Castle standeth on a hill on the North side of the Towne, at the

[1]) Th. 232.

foote whereof runneth the Riuer: this Towne is full of beggerlie Fryers, Nunnes, Priestes, and Iesuites: for there are fiue sortes of begging Friers, besides three Cloysters of Nunnes. At the foote of the Castle stands a Church, in the which there is an Alter, where are ingrauen all the foure Elements, and all the orders and degrees in Heauen, that any man [1]) of vnderstanding whosoeuer that hath a sight thereof, will say that it is the artificiallest thing that euer he beheld. From thence he went to NORENBERG, whither as he went by the waie, his Spirite enformed him that the Towne was named of CLAUDIUS TIBERIUS the Sonne of NERO the Tyrant. In the Towne are two famous Cathedrall Churches, the one called Saint SABOLT, the other Saint LAURENCE; in which Church hangeth al the reliques of CAROLUS MAGNUS, that is his cloake, his hose and doublet, his sworde and Crowne, his Scepter, and his Apple. It hath a very gorgious gilden Conduit in the market of Saint LAURENCE, in which Conduit, is the speare that thrust our Sauiour into the side, and a peece of the holy Crosse; the wall is called the fayre wall of NORENBERG, and hath *528.* streates, *160.* wells [2]), foure great, and two small clockes, sixe great gates, and two small doores, eleuen stone bridges, twelue small hills, ten appoynted market places, thirteene common hothouses, ten Churches, within the Towne are thirtie wheeles of watermills; it hath *132.* tall ships, two mightie Towne walls of hewen stone and earth, with very deepe trenches. The walls haue *180.* Towers about them, and foure faire platformes, ten Apothecaries, ten Doctors of the common lawe, foureteene Doctors of Phisicke. From NORENBERG, hee went to AUSPURG, where

[1]) 40, F 1 v°. [2]) Th. 233.

at the breake of the day, he demaunded of his Spirit wherevpon the Towne tooke his name: this Towne (saith he) hath had many names, when it was first built, it was called VINDELICA: secondly, it was called ZIZARIA, the yron bridge: lastly by the Emperour OCTAUIUS AUGUSTUS, it was called AUGUSTA, and by corruption of language the GERMANES haue named it AUSPURG. Now for because that FAUSTUS had been there before, he departed without visiting their monuments to RAUENSPURG, where his Spirite certified him that the Citie had had seuen names, the first TYBERIA, the second QUADRATIS, the third HYASPALIS, the fourth REGINOPOLIS, the fift IMBRIPOLIS, the sixt RATISBONA, lastly RAUENSPURG. The scituation of the Citie pleased FAUSTUS well, also the strong and sumptuous buildings: by the walls thereof runneth the Riuer of DANUBIA, in Dutch called DONOW, into the which not farre from the compasse of the Citie, falleth nerehand threescore other small Riuers and fresh waters. FAUSTUS also liked the sumptuous stone bridge ouer the same water, with the Church standing [1]) thereon, the which was founded *1115.* the name whereof, is called S. REMEDIAN: in this towne FAUSTUS went into the celler of an Inholder, and let out all the Wine and Beere that was in his Celler. After the which feat he returned vnto MENTZ in BAUARIA, a right princely [2]) Towne, the Towne appeared as if it were newe, with great streates therein, both of breadth and length: from MENTZ to SALTZBURG, where the Bishop is alwaies resident: here sawe he all the commodities that were possible to be seene, for at the hill he sawe the forme of ABEL made in Christall, an huge thing to looke vpon, that euery yeare groweth bigger and

[1]) Th. 234. [2]) 41, F 2.

bigger, by reason of the freezing colde. From hence, hee went to VIENNA, in AUSTRIA: this towne is of so great antiquitie, that it is not possible to finde the like: in this towne (said the Spirite) is more Wine then water, for all vnder the towne are wells, the which are filled euery yeare with wine, and all the water that they haue, runneth by the towne, that is the Riuer DANUBIA. From hence, hee went vnto PRAGE, the chiefe Citie in BOHEMIA, this is deuided into thrée partes, that is, olde PRAGE, new PRAGE, and little PRAGE. Little PRAGE is the place where the Emperours Court is placed vpon an exceeding high mountaine: there is a Castle, wherein are two fayre Churches, in the one he found a monument, which might well haue been a mirror to himselfe, and that was the Sepulchre of a notable Coniurer, which by his Magick had so inchanted his Sepulchre, that who so euer set foote thereon, should be sure neuer to dye in their beds. From the Castell he came downe, and went ouer the Bridge. This Bridge [1]) hath twentie and foure Arches. In the middle of this Bridge stands a very fayre monument, being a Crosse builded of stone, and most artificially carued. From thence, he came into the olde PRAGE, the which is separated from the new Prage, with an exceeding deepe ditch, and round about inclosed with a wall of Bricke. Vnto this is adioyning the Iewes Towne, wherein are thirteene thousand men, women, and Children, all Iewes. There he viewed the Colledge and the Garden, where all manner of sauage Beasts are kept; and from thence, he fet a compasse rounde about the three townes, whereat he wondred greatly, to see so mighty a Citie to stand all within the walles. From PRAGE, hee flewe

[1]) Th. 235.

into the ayre and bethought himselfe what hee might doe, or which way to take, so hee looked round about, and beholde, he had espied a passing faire City which lay not farre from PRAGE, about some foure *and* twentie miles, and that was BRESLAW in SCLESIA; into which when he was entred, it seemed to him that hee had been in Paradise, so neate and cleane was the streates, and so sumptuous was their buildings. In this Citie he sawe not many wonders, except the Brasen Virgin that standeth on a Bridge ouer the water, *and* vnder *the* which standeth a mil like a powder mil, which Virgin is made to do execution vpon those disobedient town borne children *that* be so wilde, *that* their parents cannot bridle [1]) them; which when any such are found with some hainous offence, turning to the shame of their parents and kindred, they are brought to kisse this Virgin, which openeth her armes, the person then to bee executed, kisseth her, then doth she close [2]) her armes together with such violence, that she crusheth out the breath of the person, breaketh his bulke, and so dieth: but being dead, she openeth her armes againe, and letteth the partie fall into the Mil, where he is stamped in smal morsels, which the water carrieth away, so that not any parte of him is found againe. From BRESLAW he went toward CRACOUIA, in the Kingdome of POLONIA, where he beheld the ACADEMIE, the which pleased him wonderful well. In this Citie the King most commonly holdeth his Court at a Castel, in which Castell are many famous monuments. There is a most sumptuous Church in the same, in which standeth a siluer alter gilded, and set with rich stones, and ouer it is a conueiance full of all maner siluer ornaments belonging to the Masse. In the Church

[1]) 42, F 2 v°. [2]) Th. 236.

hangeth the iawe bones of an huge Dragon that kept the Rocke before the Castel was edified thereon. It is full of all maner munition, and hath alwaies victual for three yeare to serue *2000.* men. Through the towne runneth a riuer called the VISTULA or WISSEL, where ouer is a faire woodden bridge. This water deuideth the towne and CASMERE, in this CASMERE dwelleth the Iewes being a small walled towne by themselues, to the number of *25000.* men, women, and Children. Within one mile of the towne there is a salte mine, where they finde stones of pure salte of a *1000.* pound, or *900.* pound, or more in waight, and that in great quantitie. This salte is as black as the NEWCASTLE coales when it comes out of the mines, but being beaten to powder, it is as white as snowe. The like they haue [1]) foure mile from thence, at a towne called BUCHNIA. From thence, FAUSTUS went to SANDETZ, the Captaine thereof was called DON SPIKET IORDAN, in this towne are many monuments, as the tombe or sepulchre of Christ, in as ample maner as that is at IERUSALEM, at the proper costs of a Gentleman that went thrice to IERUSALEM from that place, and returned againe. Not far from that towne is a new towne, wherein is a Nunrie of the order of Saint DIOCLESIAN, into which order may none come, except they be Gentlewomen, and well formed and faire to looke vpon, the which pleased FAUSTUS well: but hauing a desire to trauaile farther, and to see more wonders, mounting vp towards the East, ouer many lands and prouinces, as into HUNGARIA, TRANSILUANIA, SHEDE, INGRATZ, SARDINIA, and so into CONSTANTINOPLE, where the Turkish Emperor kept his Court. This Citie was surnamed by

[1]) Th. 237.

CONSTANTINE the founder thereof, being builded of very faire stone. In the same the [1]) great Turke hath three faire Pallaces, the wals are strong, the pinnacles are very huge, and the streetes large: but this liked not FAUSTUS, that one man might haue so many wiues as he would. The Sea runneth hard by the Citie, the wall hath eleuen Gates: FAUSTUS abode there a certaine time to see the manner of the Turkish Emperours seruice at his table, where hee saw his royall seruice to bee such, that hee thought if all the Christian Princes should banquet together, and euery one adorne the feast to the vttermost, they were not able to compare with the Turke for his table, and the rest of his Countrey seruice, wherefore it so spighted FAUSTUS, that [2]) hee vowed to bee reuenged of him, for his pompe he thought was more fit for himselfe: wherefore as the Turke sate and eate, FAUSTUS shewed him a little apish play: for rounde about the priuie Chamber, he sent foorth flashing flames of fire, in so much, that the whole company forsooke their meate and fled, except onely the great Turke himselfe, him FAUSTUS had charmed in such sorte, that hee could neither rise nor fall, neither could any man pull him vp. With this was the Hall so light, as if the Sunne had shined in the house, then came FAUSTUS in forme of a Pope to the great Turke, saying, all haile Emperour, now art thou honoured that I so worthily appeare vnto thee as thy MAHUMET was wont to doe, herevpon he vanished, and forthwith it so thundred, that the whole Pallace shooke: the Turke greatly merueiled what this should bee that so vexed him, and was perswaded by his chiefest counsailers, that it was MAHUMET his Prophet, the which had so

[1]) 43, F 3. [2]) Th. 238.

appeared vnto them, wherevpon the Turke commaunded them to fal downe on their knees, and to giue him thankes for doeing them so great honor, as to shew himselfe vnto them; but the next day FAUSTUS went into the Castell where hee kept his Wiues and Concubines, in the which Castel might no man vpon paine of death come, except those that were appointed by the great Turke to doo them seruice, and they were all gelded. [1]) Which when FAUSTUS perceiued, he said to his Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES, how likest thou this sport, are not these faire Ladies greatly to be pitied, that thus consume their youth at the pleasure of one onely man? Why [2]) (quoth the Spirit) maiest not thou instead of the Emperor, imbrace his fairest Ladies, doe what thy heart desireth herein, and I will abide thee, and what thou wishest, thou shalt haue it performed: wherefore FAUSTUS (being before this counsaile apt enough to put such matters in practize) caused a great fogge to bee round about the Castell, both within and without, and he himselfe appeared amongst the Ladies in all things as they vse to paint their MAHUMET, at which sight, the Ladies fell on their knees, and worshipped [3]) him, then FAUSTUS tooke the fairest by the hand, and led her into a chamber, where after his maner hee fell to dalliance, and thus he continued a whole day and night: and when hee had delighted himselfe sufficiently with her, hee put her away, and made his spirite bring him another, so likewise hee kept with her *24.* houres play, causing his spirit to fetch him most dainty fare, and so hee passed away sixe daies, hauing each day his pleasure of a sundry Lady, and that of the fairest, all which time, the fog was so thick, and so stinking, that they within the

[1]) gelded.] gelded, [2]) Th. 239. [3]) 44, F 3 v°.

house thought they had been in hell, for the time, and they without wondred thereat, in such sort, that they went to their praiers calling on their God MAHUMET, and worshipping of his Image. Wherfore the sixt day FAUSTUS exalted himselfe in the ayre, like to a Pope, in the sight of the great Turke and his people, and hee had no sooner departed the Castell, but the fogge vanished away, whence presently the Turke sent for his Wiues and Concubines, demanding of them if they knew the cause [1]) why the Castell was beset with a mist so long: they said, that it was the God MAHUMET himselfe that caused it, and how he was in the Castell personally full sixe daies, and for more certaintie, he hath lien with sixe of vs these sixe nights one after another. Wherefore the Turke hearing this fell on his knees, and gaue MAHUMET thanks, desiring him to forgiue him for being offended with his visiting his Castel and wiues those sixe dayes: but the Turke commanded that those whome MAHUMET had laine by, should bee most carefully looked vnto, perswading himselfe (and so did the whole people that knewe of it) that out of their MAHUMET should be raised a mighty generation, but first he demaunded of the sixe Ladies if MAHUMET had had actuall copulation with them, according as earthly men haue, yea my Lorde quoth one, as if you had been there your selfe, you could not haue mended it, for hee lay with vs starke naked, kissed and colled vs, and so delighted me, *that* for my part, I would hee came two or three times a week to serue me in such sort againe. From hence, FAUSTUS went to ALKAR, the which before time was called CHAIRAM, or MEMPHIS, in this Citie the Egiptian Souldane holdeth his Court. From hence the riuer

[1]) Th. 240.

NILUS hath his first head and spring, it is the greatest fresh-water riuer that is in the whole world, and alwaies when the Sunne is in CANCER, it ouerfloweth the whole land of ÆGYPT: then hee returned againe towards the North-east, and to the towne of OFEN and SABATZ in HUNGARIA. This OFEN is the chiefest Citie in HUNGARIA, and standeth in a fertile soyle, wherein groweth most excellent [1]) wine, and not farre from the Towne there is a wel, called ZIPZAR, the water whereof changeth yron into [2]) Copper: here are mines of gold and siluer, and all maner of mettall, we GERMAINS call this towne OFEN, but in the HUNGARIAN speech it is START. In the towne standeth a very faire Castell, and very well fortified. From hence he went to AUSTRIA, and through SLESIA into SAXONY, vnto the townes of MAGDEBURG and LIPTZIG, and LUBECK. MAGDEBURG is a Bishoprick: in this Citie is one of the pitchers wherein Christ changed the water into wine at CANA in GALILE. At LIPTZIG nothing pleased FAUSTUS so well as the great vessell in the Castell made of wood, the which is bounde about with *24.* yron hoopes, and euery hoope waieth *200.* pound waight, they must goe vpon a ladder of *30.* steps high before they can looke into it: hee saw also the new church-yard, where it is walled, and standeth vpon a faire plaine, the yard is *200.* paces long, and round about in the inside of the wall, are goodly places seperated one from each other to see sepulchers in, which in the middle of the yard standeth very sumptuous: therein standeth a pulpit of white worke and golde. From hence hee came to LUBECK and HAMBURG, where he made no abode, but away againe to ERFORT in DURINGEN, where he visited the FRESKOLD, and from ERFORT hee went

[1]) Th. 241. [2]) 45, F 4.

home to WITTENBERG, when he had seene and visited many a strange place, being from home one yeare and a halfe, in which time he wrought more wonders than are here declared.

How [1]) Faustus had a sight of Paradise. Chap. 23.

AFter this, Doctor FAUSTUS set forth againe, visited these countries of SPAINE, PORTUGAL, FRANCE, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, DENMARK, SWEDEN, POLAND, MUSCOUY, INDIA, CATAIA, AFRICA, PERSIA, and lastly into BARBARIA amongst the BLACKE MORES, and in all his wandring he was desirous to visit the auncient monuments and mighty hils, amongst the rest beholding the high hill called the TRENO RIEFE, was desirous to rest vpon it: from thence hee went into the Isle of BRITTANY, wherein hee was greatly delighted to see the faire water and warme Bathes, the diuers sorts of mettall, with many pretious stones, and diuers other commodities the which FAUSTUS brought thence with him, hee was also at the ORCHADES behinde SCOTLAND, where hee saw the tree that bringeth forth fruite, that when it is ripe, openeth and falleth into the water, whereof ingendreth a certaine kinde of Fowle or Birde: these Islands are in number *23.* but *10.* of them are not habitable, the other *13.* are inhabited: from hence, he went to the hill of CAUCASUS, which is the highest in all that TROPICK, it lieth nere *the* borders of [2]) SCYTHIA, hereon FAUSTUS stoode and beheld many lands and kingdomes. FAUSTUS being on such an high hill, thought to looke ouer all the world and beyond, for he ment to see Paradise, but he durst not commune with his Spirit thereof: and being on the hill of CAUCASUS, hee

[1]) Th. 242. [2]) 46, F 4 v°.

sawe the whole lande of INDIA and SCYTHIA, and towards the East as hee looked [1]) he sawe a mightie cleare strike of fire comming from heauen vpon the earth, euen as it had béen one of the beames of the Sunne, he sawe in the valley foure mighty waters springing, one had his course towards INDIA, the second towards ÆGYPT, the third *and* fourth towards ARMENIA. When he saw these, he would needes knowe of his Spirit what waters they were, and from whence they came. His Spirite gaue him gently an answere, saying; it is Paradise that lieth so farre in the East, the garden that God himselfe hath planted with all maner of pleasure, and the firie streame that thou seest, is the walles or defence of the garden, but that cleare light that thou seest so farre off, is the Angell that hath the custodie thereof, with a fierie sworde: and although that thou thinkest thy selfe to bee hard by, thou hast yet farther thither from hence, then thou hast euer been: the water that thou seest deuided in foure partes, is the water that issueth out of the Well in the middle of Paradise. The first is called GANGES or PHISON, the second, GIHON or NILUS, the third TIGRIS, and the fourth EUPHRATES, also thou seest that hee standeth vnder LIBRA and ARIES right vp towards the ZENITH, and vpon this firie wall standeth the Angell MICHAEL with his flaming sword to keep the tree of life the which he hath in charge; but the Spirite said vnto FAUSTUS, neither thou, nor I, nor any after vs, yea all men whosoeuer are denied to visite it, or to come any nearer then we be.

[1]) Th. 243.

Of [1]) a certaine Comet that appeared in Germanie, and how Doctor Faustus was desired by certaine friends of his to knowe the meaning thereof.
Chap. 24.

IN GERMANIE ouer the Towne of S. EIZLEBEN was seene a mightie great Comet, whereat the people wondered; but Doctor FAUSTUS being there, was asked of certaine of his friends his iudgement or opinion in the matter. Wherevpon hee answered, it falleth out often by the course and change of the Sunne and Moone, that the Sunne is vnder the earth, and the Moone aboue; but when the Moone draweth neere the change, then is the Sunne so strong that hee taketh away all the light of the Moone, in such sorte that he is as red as blood: and [2]) to the contrary, after they haue been together, the Moone taketh her light againe from him, and so increasing in light to the full, shee will be as red as the Sun was before, and changeth herselfe into diuers and sundry colours, of the which springeth a prodygious monster, or as you call it, a Comet, which is a figure or token appoynted of God as a forewarning of his displeasure: as at one time hee sendeth hunger, plague, sword, or such like: being all tokens of his iudgement: the which Comet commeth through the coniunction of the Sun *and* Moone begetting a monster, whose father is the Sunne, and whose mother is the Moone, ☉ and ☽.

[1]) Th. 244. [2]) 47, G 1.

A [1]) question put foorth to Doctor Faustus, concerning the Starres. Chap. 25.

THere was a learned man of the towne of HALBERSTAT, named N. V. W. inuited Doctor FAUSTUS to his table, but falling into communication before supper was ready, they looked out of the windowe, and seeing many starres in the firmament, this man being a Doctor of Phisick and a good Astrologian, sayd: Doctor FAUSTUS, I haue inuited you as my guest, hoping that you will take it in good part with me, and withall I request you to impart vnto me some of your experience in the Starres and Planets. And seeing a Starre fall, hee said: I pray you FAUSTUS, what is the condition, qualitie, or greatnes of the Starres in the firmament? FAUSTUS answered him: My friend and Brother, you see that the Starres that fal from heauen when they come on *the* earth they be very smal to our thinking as ca*n*dles, but being fixed in the firmament there are many as great as this Citie, some as great as a Prouince or Dukedome, other as great as the whole earth, other some farre greater then the earth: for the length *and* breadth of the heauens is greater than the earth twelue times, and from the height of the Heauens there is scarce any earth to be seene, yea the Planets in the heauens are some so great as this land, some so great as the whole Empire of ROME, some as TURKIE, yea one so great as the whole world.

[1]) Th. 245.

Howe [1]) Faustus was asked a question concerning the Spirites that vexe men. Chap. 26.

THat is most true (sayth hee to FAUSTUS) concerning the starres and planets: but I pray you in what kinde or maner doe the spirites vse or vexe men so little by day, and so greatly by night? Doctor FAUSTUS answered: because the spirits are by GOD forbidden the light, their dwelling is in darknesse, and the clearer the Sunne shineth, the further the Spirits haue their abiding from it, but in the night when it is darke, they haue their familiaritie and abiding neere vnto vs men. For although in the night we see not the Sunne, yet the brightnes thereof so lightneth the first mouing of the firmament as it doth *that* on earth in the day, by which reason we are able to see the stars and Planets in the night, euen so the rayes of the Sunne pearcing vpwards into the firmament, the Spirits abandon the place, and so come neere vs on earth in the darknes, filling our heads with heauy dreames and fond fantasies, with schriching and crying in many deformed shapes: as sometimes when men go forth without light, there falleth to them a feare, that their hayre standeth an end, so many start in their sleepe thinking there is a Spirit by him, gropeth or feeleth for him, going round about the house in his sleep, *and* many such like fantasies: and all this is for because that in the night the Spirits are more familiarly by vs than we are desirous of their company, and so they cary vs, blinding vs and plaguing vs more than we are able to perceiue.

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[1]) 48, G 1 v°; Th. 246.

How [1]) Doctor Faustus was asked a question concerning the Starres that fall from Heauen. Chap. 27.

DOctor FAUSTUS being demanded the cause why the Starres fell from Heauen, he answered: that is but our opinion; for if one Starre fall, it is the great iudgement of God vpon vs, as aforewarning of some great thing to come: for when we thinke that a Star falleth, it is but as a sparke that issueth from a candle or a flame of fire, for if it were a substantiall thing, we should not so soone loose the sight of them as we doo. And likewise, if so be that we see as it were a streame of fire fall from the firmament, as oft it happeneth, yet are they no Starres, but as it were a flame of fire vanishing, but the Starres are substantiall, therefore are they firme and not falling: if there [2]) fall any, it is a signe of some great matter to come, as a scourge to a people or countrey, and then such Starre falling, the gates of heauen are opened, and the cloudes send foorth floods, or other plagues, to the dammage of the whole land and people.

How Faustus was asked a question as concerning thunder. Chap. 28.

IN the moneth of August, there was ouer WITTENBERG a mighty great lightning and thunder, and as Doctor FAUSTUS was [3]) iesting merily in the market place with certaine of his friends and companions being Phisitions, they desired him to tel them the cause of that weather. FAUSTUS answered: it hath beene com-

[1]) Th. 247. [2]) 49, G 2. [3]) Th. 248.

monly seene heretofore, that before a thunder-clap fell a showre of raine or a gale of winde, for commonly after a winde followeth a raine, and after a rayne a thunderclap: such things come to passe when the foure windes meete together in the heauens, the ayrie cloudes are by force beaten against the fixed chrystallin firmament, but when the ayrie cloudes meet with the firmament, they are congealed, and so strike *and* rush against the firmament as great peeces of yce when they meet on the water, the eccho thereof soundeth in our eares, and that we call thunder, which indeede is none other than you haue heard.

The third and last part, of Doctor Faustus his mery conceits, shewing after what sort he practised Nicromancie in the Courts of great Princes, and lastly of his fearfull and pitifull ende.

How the Emperour Carolus quintus requested of Faustus to see some of his cunning, whereunto he agreed. Chap. 29.

THe Emperour CAROLUS the fifth of that name was personally with the rest of his Nobles and gentlemen at the towne of INSZBRUCK where he kept his court, vnto [1]) the which also Doctor FAUSTUS resorted, and being there well knowne of diuers Nobles *and* gentlemen, he was inuited into the court to meat, euen in the presence of the Emperour: whom when the Emperour saw, hee looked earnestly on him, thinking

[1]) Th. 249.

him by his looks to be some wonderfull fellow, wherfore he asked one of his Nobles whom he should be: who answered that he was called Doctor FAUSTUS. Whereupon the Emperour held his peace vntill [1]) he had taken his repast, after which hee called vnto him FAUSTUS, into the priuie chamber, whither being come, he sayd vnto him: FAUSTUS, I haue heard much of thee, that thou art excellent in the black Arte, and none like thee in mine Empire, for men say that thou hast a familiar Spirit with thee *and* that thou canst do what thou list: it is therefore (saith the Emperour) my request of thee that thou let me see a proofe of thine experience, and I vowe vnto thee by the honour of mine Emperiall Crowne, none euill shall happen vnto thee for so dooing. Herevpon Doctor FAUSTUS answered his Maiestie, that vpon those conditions he was ready in any thing that he could, to doe his highnes commaundement in what seruice he would appoynt him. Wel, then heare what I say (quoth the Emperour.) Being once solitarie in my house, I called to mind mine elders and auncesters, how it was possible for them to attaine vnto so great a degree of authoritie, yea so high, that wee the successors of that line are neuer able to come neere. As for example, the great and mighty monarch of the worlde ALEXANDER MAGNUS, was such a lanterne *and* spectacle to all his successors, as the Cronicles makes mention [2]) of so great riches, conquering, and subduing so many kingdomes, the which I and those that follow me (I feare) shall neuer bee able to attaine vnto: wherefore, FAUSTUS, my hearty desire is that thou wouldst vouchsafe to let me see that ALEXANDER, and his Paramour, the which was praysed to be so fayre, and

[1]) 50, G 2 v°. [2]) Th. 250.

I pray thee shew me them in such sort that I may see their personages, shape, gesture *and* apparel, as they vsed in their life time, and that here before my face; to the ende that I may say I haue my long desire fulfilled, *and* to prayse thee to be a famous man in thine arte and experience. Doctor FAUSTUS answered: My most excellent Lord, I am ready to accomplish your request in all things, so farre foorth as I and my Spirit are able to performe: yet your Maiestie shall know, that their dead bodies are not able substantially to be brought before you, but such Spirits as haue seene ALEXANDER and his Paramour aliue, shall appeare vnto you in manner and forme as they both liued in their most florishing time: and herewith I hope to please your imperiall Maiestie. Then FAUSTUS went a little aside to speake to his Spirit, but he returned againe presently, saying: now if it please your Maiesty you shall see them, yet vpon this condition vnto you demaund no question of them, nor speake that them, which the Emperour agreed vnto. Wherewith Doctor FAUSTUS opened the priuy chamber doore, where presently entred the great and mighty Emperour ALEXANDER MAGNUS, in all things to looke vpon as if he had been *aliue*, [1]) in proportion a strong thick set man, of a middle stature, blacke hayre, [2]) and that both thick and curled head and beard, red cheekes, and a broade face, with eyes like a BASILISKE, hee had on a complet harnesse burnished and grauen exceeding rich to looke vpon; and so passing towards the Emperour CAROLUS, he made lowe and reuerent curtesie: whereat the Emperour CAROLUS would haue stoode vp to receiue and greete him with the like reuerence, but FAUSTUS tooke holde of him

[1]) 51, G 3. [2]) Th. 251.

and would not permit him to doe it. Shortly after ALEXANDER made humble reuerence and went out againe, and comming to the doore his Paramour met him, she comming in, she made the Emperour likewise reuerence, she was clothed in blew Ueluet, wrought and embrodered with pearle and golde, she was also excellent fayre like Milke *and* blood mixed, tall and slender, with a face round as an Apple, and thus shee passed certaine times vp and downe the house, which the Emperour marking, sayd to himselfe: now haue I seene two persons, which my heart hath long wished for to beholde, and sure it cannot otherwise be, sayd he to himselfe, but that the Spirits haue changed themselues into these formes, and haue not deceiued me, calling to his minde the woman that raysed the Prophet SAMUEL: and for that the Emperour would be the more satisfied in the matter, he thought, I haue heard say, that behinde her necke she had a great wart or wenne, wherefore he tooke FAUSTUS by the hand without any words, and went to see if it were also to be seen on her or not, but she perceiuing that he came to her, bowed downe her neck, where he saw a great wart, and hereupon shee vanished, leauing the Emperour and the rest well contented.

How [1]) Doctor Faustus in the sight of the Emperour coniured a payre of Harts hornes vpon a Knights head that slept out of a cazement.
Chap. 30.

WHen Doctor FAUSTUS had accomplished the Emperours desire in all things as he was requested, he went foorth into a gallerie, and leaning ouer a rayle to looke into the priuie garden, he saw many

[1]) Th. 252.

of the Emperours Courtiers walking and talking together, and casting his eyes now this way, now that way, he espyed a Knight leaning out at a window of the great hall; who was fast asleepe (for in those dayes it was hote) but the person shall bee namelesse that slept, for that he was a Knight, although it was done to a [1]) little disgrace of the Gentleman: it pleased Doctor FAUSTUS, through the helpe of his Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES, to firme vpon his head as hee slept, an huge payre of Harts hornes, and as the Knight awaked thinking to pul in his head, hee hit his hornes against the glasse that the panes therof flew about his eares. Think here how this good Gentleman was vexed, for he could neither get backward nor forward: which when the Emperour heard al the courtiers laugh, and came forth to see what was hapened, the Emperour also when he beheld the Knight with so fayre a head laughed heartily thereat, and was therewithall well pleased: at last FAUSTUS [2]) made him quite of his hornes agayne, but the Knight perceiued how they came, *etc.*

How [3]) the aboue mentioned Knight went about to be reuenged of Doctor Faustus. Chap. 31.

DOctor FAUSTUS tooke his leaue of the Emperour and the rest of the Courtiers, at whose departure they were sory, giuing him many rewards and gifts: but being a league and a halfe from the Citie he came into a Wood, where he beheld the Knight that hee had iested with at the Court with other in harnesse, mounted on fayre palfrayes, and running with full charge towards FAUSTUS, but he seeing their intent, ran towards the bushes, and before he came amongst

[1]) 52, G 3 v°. [2]) FAUSTUS] FAUSTUS, [3]) Th. 253.

the bushes he returned againe, running as it were to meet them that chased him, wherupon sodainly al the bushes were turned into horsemen, which also ran to incoun*n*ter with the Knight *and* his company, *and* comming to the*m*, they closed the Knight and the rest, *and* told them that they must pay their ransome before they departed. Whereupon the Knight seeing himselfe in such distresse, besought FAUSTUS to be good to them, which he denied not, but let them lose, yet he so charmed them, that euery one, Knight *and* other for the space of a whole moneth did weare a payre of Goates hornes on their browes, and euery Palfray a payre of Oxe hornes on their head: and this was their penance appoynted by FAUSTUS, *etc.*

How [1]) three young Dukes being together at Wittenberg to behold the Vniuersitie, requested Faustus to help them at a wish to the towne of Menchen in Bauaria, there to see the Duke of Bauaria his sonnes wedding. Chap. 32.

THree worthy young Dukes, the which are not here to bee named, but being students altogether at the Uniuersitie of WITTENBERG, met [2]) on a time altogether, where they fell to reasoning concerning the pompe and brauery that would be at the Citie of MENCHEN in BAUARIA, at the wedding of the Dukes Sonne, wishing themselues there but one halfe houre, to see the manner of their iollity: to whom one replied, saying to the other two Gentlemen, if it please you to giue mee the hearing, I will giue you good counsell that we may see the wedding, and be here againe to night, and this is my meaning; let vs send to Doctor

[1]) Th. 254. [2]) 53, G 4.

FAUSTUS, make him a present of some rare thing and so open our mindes vnto him, desiring him to assist vs in our enterprise, and assure ye he will not denie to fulfill our request. Hereupon they al concluded, sent for FAUSTUS, tolde him their minde, and gaue him a gift, and inuited him to a sumptuous banquet, wherewith FAUSTUS was well contented, and promised to further their iourney to the vttermost. And when the time was come that the Duke his sonne should be married, Doctor FAUSTUS called vnto him the three young Gentlemen into his house, commaunding them that they should put on [1]) their best apparell, and adorne themselues as richly as they could, he tooke off his owne great large cloke, went into a garden that was adioyning vnto his house, and set the three young Dukes on his cloke, and he himselfe sate in the middest, but hee gaue them in charge that in any wise they should not once open their mouthes to speak, or make answere to any man so soone as they were out, no not so much as if the Duke of BAUARIA or his Son should speake to them, or offer them courtesie, they should giue no word or answere agayne, to the which they all agreed. These conditions being made, Doctor FAUSTUS began to coniure, and on a sodayne arose a mightie winde, heauing vp the cloke, and so carried them away in the ayre, *and* in due time they came vnto MENCHEN to *the* Dukes Court, where being entred into the outmost court, the Marshall had espied them, who presently went to the Duke, shewing his Grace that all the Lords and gentlemen were already set at the table, notwithstanding, there were newly come three goodly Gentlemen with one seruant, the which stoode without in the court, wherefore the

[1]) Th. 255.

good old Duke came out vnto them, welcomming them, requiring what they were, *and* whence: but they made no answere at all, whereat the Duke wondred, thinking they were all foure dumbe; notwithstanding for his honor sake hee tooke them into his court, and feasted them. FAUSTUS notwithstanding spake to the*m*, if any thing happen otherwise then wel, when I say, sit vp, the*n* fal you al on the cloke, *and* good inough: wel, the water being brought, *and* that they must wash, one [1]) of the three had so much maners as to desire his [2]) friend to wash first, which when FAUSTUS heard, he said, sit vp, and all at once they got on the cloke, but he that spake fell off againe, the other two with Doctor FAUSTUS, were againe presently at WITTENBERG, but he that remayned, was taken and layde in Prison: wherefore the other two Gentlemen were very sorrowfull for their friend, but FAUSTUS comforted them, promising that on the morrow he should also be at WITTENBERG. Now all this while was this Duke taken in a great feare, and striken into an exceeding dump, wondring with himselfe that his hap was so hard to be left behinde, and not the rest, and now being locked *and* watched with so many keepers, there was also certaine of the guests that fell to reasoning with him to know what hee was, and also what the other were that were vanished away, but the poore prisoner thought with himselfe, if I open what they are, then it will be euill also with me: wherefore all this while he gaue no man any answere, so that he was there a whole day, and gaue no man a word. Wherefore the olde Duke gaue in charge, that the next morning they should racke him vntill he had confessed: which when the young Duke heard, hee began to sorrow and

[1]) Th. 256. [2]) 54, G 4 v°.

to say with himselfe, it may be that to morrowe, if Doctor FAUSTUS come not to ayde me, then shall I be racked and grieuously tormented, in so much that I shall bee constrayned by force to tell more than willingly I would doe: but he comforted himselfe with hope that his friends would intreat Doctor FAUSTUS about his deliuerance, as also it [1]) came to passe, for before it was day, Doctor FAUSTUS was by him, and he coniured them that watched him into such a heauy sleepe, that he with his charmes made open all the lockes in the prison, and therewithall brought the young Duke againe in safety to the rest of his fellowes and friends, where they presented FAUSTUS with a sumptuous gift, and so they departed the one from the other, *etc.*

How Doctor Faustus borrowed monie of a Iew, and layd his own legge to pawne for it. Chap. 33.

IT is a common prouerb in GERMANIE, that although a Coniurer haue all things at commaundement, the day will come that hee shall not be worth a pennie: so is it like to fall out with Doctor FAUSTUS, in promising the Diuel so largely: and as the Diuel is the author of lies, euen so hee led FAUSTUS his minde, in practising of things to deceiue the people and blinding them, wherein hee tooke his whole delight, thereby to bring himselfe to riches, yet notwithstanding in the ende he was [2]) neuer the richer. And although that during foure and twentie yeares of his time that the diuel set him, hee wanted nothing; yet was he best pleased when hee might deceiue any bodie: for out of the mightiest Potentates Courtes in all those

[1]) Th. 257. [2]) 55, H 1.

Countries, hee would send his Spirite to steale away their best cheare. And on a time being in his merriment where hee was banqueting with other Students in an Inne, whereunto resorted many Iewes, which when Doctor FAUSTUS perceiued, hee was minded to play [1]) some merrie iest to deceiue a Iew, desiring one of them to lend him some money for a time, the Iewe was content, and lent FAUSTUS threescore dollers for a moneth, which time being expired, the Iewe came for his money and interest, but Doctor FAUSTUS was neuer minded to pay the Iewe againe: at length the Iewe comming home to his house, and calling importunately for his money, Doctor FAUSTUS made him this answere: Iewe, I haue no money, nor know I how to pay thee, but notwithstanding, to the ende that thou maiest bee contented, I will cut off a lim of my bodie, bee it arme or leg, and the same shalt thou haue in pawne for thy money, yet with this condition, that when I shall pay thee thy money againe, then thou also giue mee my limme. The Iewe that was neuer friend to a Christian, thought with himself, this is a fellow right for my purpose, that will lay his limmes to pawne for money, hee was therewith very well content; wherefore Doctor FAUSTUS tooke a sawe, and therewith seemed to cut off his foote (being notwithstanding nothing so) well, he gaue it to the Iewe, yet vpon this condition, that when he got money to pay, the Iewe should deliuer him his leg, to the ende hee might set it on againe. The Iewe was with this matter very well pleased, tooke his leg and departed: and hauing farre home, he was somewhat wearie, and by the way hee thus bethought him, what helpeth mee a knaues leg, if I should carrie it

[1]) Th. 258.

home, it would stinck, and so infect my house, besides it is too hard a peece of worke to set it on againe, wherefore what an asse was FAUSTUS to lay so deare a pawne for so small a summe of money; and for my part, quoth the Iew to himselfe, [1]) this will neuer profit me any thing, and with these words he cast the leg away from him into a ditch. All this Doctor FAUSTUS knewe right wel, therefore within three daies after he sent for the Iewe to make him payment of his *60.* Dollers, the Iewe came, and Doctor FAUSTUS demaunded his pawne, there was his money readie for him: the Iewe answered, the pawne was not profitable or necessarie for any thing and he had cast it away: but FAUSTUS threatninglie replied, I will haue my leg [2]) againe, or else one of thine for it. The Iewe fell to intreating, promising him to giue him what money he would aske, if hee would not deale straightly with him, wherefore the Iewe was constrained to giue him *60.* Dollers more to be rid of him, and yet FAUSTUS had his leg on, for he had but blinded the Iewe.

How Doctor Faustus deceiued an Horse-courser. Chap. 34.

IN like manner hee serued an Horse-courser at a faire called PHEIFFRING, for Doctor FAUSTUS through his cunning had gotten an excellent fayre Horse, wherevpon hee rid to the Fayre, where hee had many Chap-men that offered him money: lastly, he sold him for *40.* Dollers, willing him that bought him, that in any wise he should not ride him ouer any water, but the Horsecourser marueiled with himself that FAUSTUS bad him ride him ouer no water, (but quoth he) I will

[1]) Th. 259. [2]) 56, H 1 v°.

prooue, and forthwith hee rid him into the riuer, presently the horse vanished from vnder [1]) him, and he sate on a bundell of strawe, in so much that the man was almost drowned. The horsecourser knewe well where hee lay that had solde him his horse, wherefore he went angerly to his Inne, where hee found Doctor FAUSTUS fast a sleepe, and snorting on a bed, but the horsecourser could no longer forbeare him, tooke him by the leg and began to pull him off the bed, but he pulled him so, that he pulled his leg from his body, in so much that the Horse-courser fel down backwardes in the place, then began Doctor FAUSTUS to crie with an open throate, he hath murdered me. Hereat the Horse-courser was afraide, and gaue the flight, thinking none other with himselfe, but that hee had pulled his leg from his bodie; by this meanes Doctor FAUSTUS kept his money.

How Doctor Faustus eate a lode of Hay. Chap. 35.

DOctor FAUSTUS being in a Towne of GERMANIE called ZWICKAW, where hee was accompanied with many Doctors and Masters, and going foorth to walke after supper, they met with a Clowne that droue a loade of Hay. Good euen good fellowe said FAUSTUS to the Clowne, what shall I giue thee to let mee eate my bellie full of Hay? the Clowne thought with himselfe, what a mad [2]) man is this to eate Hay, thought he with himselfe, thou wilt not eate much, they agreed for three farthings he should eate as much as he could: wherefore Doctor FAUSTUS began to eat, and that so rauenously, that all the rest of his com-

[1]) Th. 260. [2]) 57, H 2.

pany fell a laughing, blinding so the poore clowne, that he was sory [1]) at his heart, for he seemed to haue eaten more than the halfe of his Hay, wherefore the clowne began to speake him faire, for feare he should haue eaten the other halfe also. FAUSTUS made as though he had had pitie on the Clowne, and went his way. When the Clowne came in place where he would be, he had his Hay againe as he had before, a full loade.

How Doctor Faustus serued the twelue Students. Chap. 36.

AT WITTENBERG before FAUSTUS his house, there was a quarrell betweene seuen Students, and fiue that came to part the rest, one part being stronger than the other. Wherefore FAUSTUS seeing them to bee ouermatched, coniured them all blinde, in so much that the one could not see the other, and yet hee so dealt with them, that they fought and smote at one another still, whereat all the beholders fell a laughing: and thus they continued blinde, beating one another, vntill the people parted them, and leade each one to his owne home: where being entred into their houses, they receiued their sight perfectly againe.

How Faustus serued the dronken Clownes. Chap. 37.

DOctor FAUSTUS went into an Inne, wherein were many tables full of Clownes, the which were tippling kan after kan of excellent wine, and to bee short they were all dronken, and as they sate, they so sung

[1]) Th. 261.

and hallowed, that [1]) one could not heare a man speake for them; this angred Doctor FAUSTUS; wherefore hee said to those that had called him in, marke my masters, I will shew you a merrie iest, the Clownes continuing still hallowing and singing, he so coniured them, that their mouthes stoode as wide open as it was possible for them to hold them, and neuer a one of them was able to close his mouth againe: by and by the noyse was gone, the Clownes notwithstanding looked earnestly one vpon another, and wist not what was [2]) happened; wherefore one by one they went out, and so soone as they came without, they were as well as euer they were: but none of them desired to goe in any more.

How Doctor Faustus solde flue Swine for sixe Dollers a peece. Chap. 38.

DOctor FAUSTUS began another iest, hee made him readie flue fat Swine, the which hee solde to one for sixe Dollers a peece, vpon this condition, that the Swine-driuer should not driue them into the water. Doctor FAUSTUS went home againe, and as the Swine had filed themselues in the mudde, the Swine-driuer droue them into a water, where presently they were changed into so many bundels of straw swimming vpright in the water: the buier looked wishly about him, and was sorrie in his heart, but he knewe not where to finde FAUSTUS, so he was content to let all goe, and to lose both money and Hogs.

[1]) Th. 262. [2]) 58, H 2 v°.

How [1]) Doctor Faustus played a merrie iest with the Duke of Anholt in his Court. Chap. 39.

DOctor FAUSTUS on a time came to the Duke of ANHOLT, the which welcomed him very courteously, this was in the moneth of Ianuary, where sitting at the table, he perceiued the Dutchesse to be with childe, and forbearing himselfe vntill the meate was taken from the table, and that they brought in the banquetting dishes, said Doctor FAUSTUS to the Dutchesse, Gracious Ladie, I haue alway heard, that the great bellied women doe alwaies long for some dainties, I beseech therefore your Grace hide not your mind from me, but tell me what you desire to eate, she answered him, Doctor FAUSTUS now truely I will not hide from you what my heart dooth most desire, namely, that if it were now Haruest, I would eate my bellie full of ripe Grapes, and other daintie fruite. Doctor FAUSTUS answered herevpon, Gracious Lady, this is a small thing for mee to doe, for I can doo more than this, wherefore he tooke a plate, and made open one of the casements of the windowe, holding it forth, where incontinent hee had his dish full of all maner of fruites, as red and white Grapes, Peares, and Apples, the which came from out of strange Countries, all these he presented the Dutchesse, saying: Madame, I pray [2]) you vouchsafe to taste of this daintie fruite, the which came from a farre Countrey, for there the Sommer is not yet ended. The Dutchesse thanked FAUSTUS highly, and she fell to her fruite with full appetite. The Duke of [3]) ANHOLT notwithstanding could not with-holde to aske FAUSTUS

[1]) Th. 263. [2]) 59, H 3. [3]) Th. 264.

with what reason there were such young fruite to be had at that time of the yeare? Doctor FAUSTUS tolde him, may it please your Grace to vnderstand, that the yere is deuided into two circles ouer the whole world, that when with vs it is Winter, in the contrary circle it is notwithstanding Sommer, for in INDIA and SABA there falleth or setteth the Sunne, so that it is so warme, that they haue twise a yeare fruite: and gracious Lorde, I haue a swift Spirit, the which can in the twinckling of an eye fulfill my desire in any thing, wherefore I sent him into those Countries, who hath brought this fruite as you see: whereat the Duke was in great admiration.

How Doctor Faustus through his Charmes made a great Castle in presence of the Duke of Anholt. Chap. 40.

DOctor FAUSTUS desired the Duke of ANHOLT to walke a little forth of the Court with him, wherefore they went both together into the field, where Doctor FAUSTUS through his skill had placed a mightie Castel: which when the Duke sawe, hee wondered thereat, so did the Dutchesse, and all the beholders, that on that hill, which was called the ROHUMBUEL, should on the sodaine bee so fayre a Castle. At last Doctor FAUSTUS desired the Duke and the Dutchesse to walke with him into the Castle, which they denied not. This Castle was so wonderfull strong, hauing about it a great and deepe trench of water, the which was full of Fish, and all maner of water-foule, as Swannes, Duckes, Geese, Bitters, and [1]) such like. About the wall was fiue stone dores and two other dores: also

[1]) Th. 265.

within was a great open court, wherein were inchaunted all maner of wilde beasts, especiallie such as were not to bee found in GERMANIE, as Apes, Beares, Buffes, Antelopes, and such like strange beasts. Furthermore, there were other maner of beasts, as Hart, Hind, and wilde Swine, Roe, and all maner of land foule that any man could thinke on, the which flewe from one tree to another. After all this, he set his guestes to the table, being the Duke and the Dutchesse with their traine, for hee had prouided them a most sumptuous feast, both of meate and all maner of drinks, for he set nine messe of meate vpon the boord at once, and al this must [1]) his WAGNER doe, place all things on the boord, the which was brought vnto him by the Spirit inuisiblie of all things that their heart could desire, as wild foule, and Venison, with all maner of daintie fish that could bee thought on, of Wine also great plentie, and of diuers sortes, as FRENCH wine, CULLIN wine, CRABATSHER wine, RHENISH wine, SPANISH wine, HUNGARIAN wine, WATZBURG wine, Malmesie, and Sacke: in the whole, there were an hundred kannes standing rounde about the house. This sumptuous banquet the Duke tooke thankfullie, and afterwards hee departed homewards, and to their thinking they had neither eaten nor drunke, so were they blinded the whilest that they were in the Castle: but as they were in their Pallace they looked towards the Castle, and behold it was all in a flame of fire, and all those that beheld it wondred to heare so great a noyse, as if it were great Ordinance should haue been shot off: and thus the Castle burned and consumed away [2]) cleane. Which done, Doctor FAUSTUS returned to the Duke, who gaue him great thankes for shewing

[1]) 60, H 3 v°. [2]) Th. 266.

them of so great courtesie, giuing him an hundred Dollers, and libertie to depart or vse his owne discretion therein.

How Doctor Faustus with his companie visited the Bishop of Saltzburg his Wine-seller. Chap. 41.

DOctor FAUSTUS hauing taken his leaue of the Duke, he went to WITTENBERG, neere about Shrouetide, and being in companie with certaine Students, Doctor FAUSTUS was himself the God BACCHUS, who hauing well feasted the Students before with daintie fare, after the manner of GERMANIE, where it is counted no feast except all the bidden guests be drunke, which Doctor FAUSTUS intending, said: Gentlemen and my guestes, will it please you to take a cuppe of wine with me in a place or seller whereunto I will bring you, and they all said willinglie wee will: which when Doctor FAUSTUS heard, hee tooke them foorth, set either of them vpon an hollie wand, and so were coniured into the Bishop of SALTZBURG his Seller, for there about grewe excellent pleasant Wine: there fell FAUSTUS and his companie to drinking and swilling, not of the worst but of the best, and as they were merrie in the Seller, came downe to drawe drinke the Bishops butler: which when hee perceiued so many persons there hee cried with a loud voyce, theeues theeues. This spited Doctor FAUSTUS wonderfullie, wherefore hee made euery one [1]) of his company to sit on [2]) their holly wand and so vanished away, and in parting Doctor FAUSTUS tooke the Butler by the haire of the head and carried him away with

[1]) 61, H 4. [2]) Th. 267.

them, vntill they came vnto a mightie high lopped tree, and on the top of that huge tree he set the Butler, where he remained in a most fearefull perplexitie, and Doctor FAUSTUS departed to his house, where they tooke their VALETE one of another, drinking the Wine the which they had stolne in great bottels of glasse out of the Bishops [1]) seller. The Butler that had held himselfe by the hand vpon the lopped tree all the night, was almost frozen with cold, espying the day, and seeing the tree of so huge great highnesse, thought with himselfe it is vnpossible to come off this tree without perill of death: at length he had espied certaine Clownes which were passing by, he cried for the loue of God helpe me downe: the Clownes seeing him so high, wondered what mad man would clime to so huge a tree, wherefore as a thing most miraculous, they caried tidings vnto the Bishop of SALTZBURG, then was there great running on euery side to see a man in a huge tree, and many deuises they practised to get him downe with ropes, and being demaunded by the Bishop how hee came there, he said, that he was brought thither by the haire of the head of certaine theeues that were robbing of the Wine-seller, but what they were he knew not, for (said he) they had faces like men, but they [2]) wrought like diuells.

How Doctor Faustus kept his Shrouetide. Chap. 42.

THere were seuen Students, and Masters that studied Diuinitie, IURIS PRUDENTIA, *and* MEDICINA, all these hauing consented [3]) were agreed to visite Doctor FAUSTUS, and so to celebrate Shrouetide with him:

[1]) Bishops] Bishps. [2]) they] the. [3]) Th. 268.

who being come to his house hee gaue them their welcome, for they were his deare friends, desiring them to sit downe, where hee serued them with a very good supper of Hennes, fish, and other rost, yet were they but slightly cheared: wherefore Doctor FAUSTUS comforted his guests, excusing himselfe that they stale vpon him so sodainely, that hee had not leisure to prouide for them so well as they were worthie, but my good friends (quoth he) according to the vse of our Countrie wee must drinke all this night, and so a draught of the best wine to bedward is commendable. For you know that in great Potentates Courts they vse as this night great feasting, the like will I doo [1]) for you: for I haue three great flagons of wine, the first is full of HUNGARIAN wine, containing eight gallons, the second of ITALIAN wine, containing seauen gallons, the third containing sixe gallons of SPANISH wine, all the which we will tipple out before it bee day, besides, wee haue fifteene dishes of meate, the which my Spirite MEPHOSTOPHILES hath fet so farre that it was cold before hee brought it, and they are all full of the daintiest things that ones heart can deuise, but (saith FAUSTUS) I must make them hot againe: and you may beleeue mee Gentlemen, that this is no blinding of you, whereas you thinke that it is no naturall foode, verely it is as good and as pleasant as euer you eate. And hauing ended his tale, he commanded his boy to lay the cloth, which done, he serued them with fifteene messe of meate, hauing three dishes to a messe, the which were of all maner of Venison, and other daintie wild [2]) foule, and for wine there was no lacke, as ITALIAN wine, HUNGARIAN wine, and SPANISH wine: and when they

[1]) 62, H 4 v°. [2]) Th. 269.

were all made drunke, and that they had almost eaten all their good cheare, they began to sing and to daunce vntill it was day, and then they departed each one to his owne habitation: at whose parting, Doctor FAUSTUS desired them to bee his guests againe the next day following.

How Doctor Faustus feasted his guests on the Ashwednesday. Chap. 43.

VPon Ashwednesday came vnto Doctor FAUSTUS his bidden guests the Students, whom hee feasted very royallie, in so much that they were all full and lustie, singing and daunsing as the night before: and when the high glasses and goblets were caroused one to another, Doctor FAUSTUS began to play them some pretie iestes, in so much that round about the hall was heard most pleasant musick, and that in sundrie places, in this corner a Lute, in another a Cornet, in another a Citterne, Gitterne, Clarigolds, Harpe, Horne pipe: in fine, all maner of musicke was heard there at that instant, whereat all the glasses and goblets, cuppes and pots, dishes, and all that stoode on the boord began to daunce: then Doctor FAUSTUS tooke ten stone pots, and [1]) set them downe on the floare, where presently they began to daunce and to smite one against the other that the shiuers flewe round about the whole house, whereat the whole companie fell a laughing. Then he began another iest, hee set an Instrument on the table, and caused a monstrous greate Ape to come in amongst them, which [2]) Ape began to daunce [3]) and to skip, shewing them many mery conceipts. In this and such like pastime they

[1]) and] add [2]) Th. 270. [3]) 63, I 1.

passed away the whole day, where night being come, Doctor FAUSTUS bade them al to supper, which they lightly agreeed vnto, for Students in these cases are easily intreated: wherefore he promised to feast them with a banquet of foule, and afterwards they would all goe about with a Maske, then Doctor FAUSTUS put foorth a long pole out of the windowe, wherupon presently there came innumerable of birds and wild foule, and so many as came had not any power to flie away againe, but he tooke them and flang them to the students: who lightly pulled off the necks [1]) of them, and being rosted they made their supper, which being ended they made themselues readie to the Maske. Doctor FAUSTUS commanded euery one to put on a cleane shirt ouer his other clothes, which being done, they began to looke one vpon another, it seemed to each one of them they had no heads, and so they went forth vnto certaine of their neighbours, at which sight the people were wonderfully afraide. And as the vse of GERMANIE is, that wheresoeuer a Maske entreth, the good man of the house must feast them: so when these maskers were set to their banquet, they seemed againe in their former shape with heads, in so much that they were all knowne what they were: and hauing sat and well eate and drunke, Doctor FAUSTUS made that euery one had an Asses head on, with great and long eares, so they fell to dansing and to driue away the time vntill it was midnight, and then euery man departed home, and assoone as they were out of [2]) the house each one was in his naturall shape againe, and so they ended and went to sleepe.

[1]) necks] neceks [2]) Th. 271.

How Doctor Faustus the day following was feasted of the Students, and of his merrie iestes with them while hee was in their companie. Chap 44.

THe last BACCHANALIA was held on Thursday, where insued a great Snow, and Doctor FAUSTUS was inuited vnto the students that were with him the day before, where they had prepared an excellent banquet for him: which banquet being ended, Doctor FAUSTUS began to play his olde prankes, and forthwith were in the place thirteene Apes, that tooke hands and danced round in a ring together, then they fell to tumble and to vauting one ouer another, that it was most pleasant to behold, then they leaped out of the windowe and vanished away: then they set before Doctor FAUSTUS a rosted Calues head: which one of the [1]) Students cut a peece off, and laid it on Doctor FAUSTUS his trencher, which peece being no sooner layd downe, but the Calues head began to crie maynly out like a man, murther, murther, but alas what doest thou to me! Whereat they were all amazed, but after a while considering of FAUSTUS his iesting trickes they began to laugh, and then they pulled in sunder the Calues head and eat it vp. Whereupon Doctor FAUSTUS asked leaue to depart, but they would in no wise agree to let him goe, except that he would promise to come againe: presently then FAUSTUS, through his cunning, made a sleadge, the which was drawne [2]) about the house with foure fiery dragons: this was feareful for the students to beholde, for they saw FAUSTUS ride vp and downe as though he should haue

[1]) 64, I 1 v°. [2]) Th. 272.

fiered and slayne al them in the house. This sport continued vntill midnight with such a noyse that they could not heare one another, and the heads of the students were so light, that they thought themselues to be in the ayre all that time.

How Doctor Faustus shewed the fayre Helena vnto the Students vpon the Sunday following. Chap. 45.

THe Sunday following came these students home to Doctor FAUSTUS his owne house, and brought their meate and drinke with them: these men were right welcome guests vnto FAUSTUS, wherfore they all fell to drinking of wine smoothly: and being merry, they began some of them to talke of the beauty of women, and euery one gaue foorth his verdit what he had seene and what hee had heard. So one among the rest said, I neuer was so desirous of any thing in this world, as to haue a sight (if it were possible) of fayre HELENA of GREECE, for whom the worthy towne of TROIE was destroyed and razed downe to the ground, therefore sayth hee, that in all mens iudgement shee was more than commonly fayre, because that when she was stolne away from her husband, there was for her recouery so great blood-shed.

Doctor FAUSTUS answered: For that you are all my friends and are so desirous to see that famous pearle of GREECE, fayre HELENA, [1]) the wife of King MENELAUS, and daughter of TINDALUS and LÆDA, sister to CASTOR and POLLUX, who was the fayrest Lady in all GREECE: I will therefore bring her into your presence personally,

[1]) Th. 273.

and in the same forme of attyre as she vsed to goe when she was in her chiefest flowres and pleasauntest prime of youth. The like haue I done for the Emperour CAROLUS QUINTUS, at his desire I shewed him ALEXANDER the great, and his Pa*ramour*: [1]) but (sayd Doctor FAUSTUS) I charge you all that vpon your perils you speake not a word, nor rise vp from the Table so long as she is in your presence. And so he went out of the Hall, returning presently agayne, after whome immediatly followed the fayre and beautiful HELENA, whose beauty was such that the students were all amazed to see her, esteeming her rather to bee a heauenly than an earthly creature. This Lady appeared before the*m* in a most sumptuous gowne of purple Ueluet, richly imbrodered, her hayre hanged downe loose as fayre as the beaten Gold, *and* of such length that it reached downe to her hammes, with amorous cole-black eyes, a sweete and pleasant round face, her lips red as a Cherry, her cheekes of rose all colour, her mouth small, her neck as white as the Swanne, tall and slender of personage, and in summe, there was not one imperfect part in her: shee looked round about her with a rouling Haukes eye, a smiling *and* wanton countenance, which neere hand inflamed the hearts of the students, but that they perswaded themselues she was a Spirit, wherefore such phantasies passed away lightly with them: and [2]) thus fayre HELENA *and* Doctor FAUSTUS went out agayne one with another. But the Students at Doctor FAUSTUS his entring againe into the hall, requested of him to let them see her againe the next day, for that they would bring with them a painter and so take her counterfeit: which hee denied, affirming that hee could

[1]) 65, I 2. [2]) Th. 274.

not alwayes rayse vp her Spirit, but onely at certaine times: yet (sayd he) I will giue you her counterfeit, which shall bee alwayes as good to you as if your selues should see the drawing thereof, which they receiued according to his promise, but soone lost it againe. The students departed from FAUSTUS home euery one to his house, but they were not able to sleepe the whole night for thinking on the beauty of fayre HELENA. Wherefore a man may see that the Diuel blindeth and enflameth the heart with lust oftentimes, that men fall in loue with Harlots, nay euen with Furies, which afterward cannot lightly be remoued.

How Doctor Faustus coniured away the foure wheeles from a clownes waggon. Chap. 46.

DOctor FAUSTUS was sent for to the Marshall of BRUNSWICKE, who was greatly troubled with the falling sicknes. Now FAUSTUS had this vse, neuer to ride but walke foorth on foote, for hee could ease [1]) himselfe when his list, and as hee came neere vnto the towne of BRUNSWICKE, there ouer-tooke him a Clowne with foure horses and an empty waggon, to whome Doctor FAUSTUS iestingly to trie him, sayde: I pray thee good fellow let me ride a little to [2]) ease my weary legges; which the buzzardly asse denied, saying: that his horses were also wearie, and he would not let him get vp. Doctor FAUSTUS did this but to prooue the buzzard, if there were any curtesie to bee found in him if neede were.

But such churlishnes as is commonly found among clowns, was by Doctor FAUSTUS well requited, euen with the like payment: for he sayd vnto him, Thou

[1]) 66, I 2 v°. [2]) Th. 275.

doltish Clown, voyde of all humanitie, seeing thou art of so currish a disposition, I will pay thee as thou hast deserued, for the foure wheeles of thy Waggon thou shalt haue taken from thee, let mee see then how canst thou shift: hereupon his wheeles were gon, his horses also fell downe to the ground, as though they had been dead: whereat the clowne was sore afright, measuring it as a iust scourge of God for his sinnes and churlishnes: wherefore all troubled, and wayling, he humbly besought Doctor FAUSTUS to be good vnto him, confessing hee was worthy of it, notwithstanding if it pleased him to forgive him, he would hereafter doo better. Which humilitie made FAUSTUS his heart to relent, answering him on this maner, well, doe so no more, but when a poore weary man desireth thee, see that thou let him ride, but yet thou shalt not goe altogether cleare, for although thou haue agayne thy foure wheeles, yet shalt thou fetch them at the foure Gates of the Citie, so he threw dust on the horses, and reuiued them agayne, and the Clowne for his churlishnes was faine to fetch his wheeles, spending his time with wearinesse, whereas [1]) before he might [2]) haue done a good deede, and gone about his busines quietly.

How foure Iuglers cut one anothers head off, and set them on agayne; and how Doctor Faustus deceiued them. Chap. 47.

DOctor FAUSTUS came in the Lent vnto FRANCKFORT Fayre, where his Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES gaue him to vnderstand that in an Inne were foure Iuglers that cut one anothers head off, and after their cutting

[1]) whereas] where as. [2]) Th. 276.

off, sent them to the Barber to bee trimmed, which many people saw. This angred FAUSTUS, (for he meant to haue himselfe the only Cocke in the diuels basket) *and* hee went to the place where they were, [1]) to behold them. And as these Iuglers were together, ready one to cut off the others head, there stoode also the Barbers ready to trim them, and by them vpon the table stoode likewise a glasse full of distilled water, and he that was the chiefest among them stood by it. Thus they began, they smote off the head of the first, and presently there was a Lilly in the glasse of distilled water, where FAUSTUS perceiued this Lilly as it were springing, *and* the chiefe Iugler named it the tree of life, thus dealt he with the first, making the Barber wash and combe his head, *and* then he set it on againe, presently the Lilly vanished away out of the water, hereat the man had his head whole and sound againe; the like did they with the other two: and as the turne *and* lot came to the chiefe Iugler that he also should be beheaded, *and* that his Lilly was most pleasant, fayre, and florishing [2]) greene, they smote his head off, *and* when it came to be barbed, it troubled FAUSTUS his conscience, in so much that he could not abide to see another doe any thing, for he thought himselfe to bee the principal coniurer in the world, wherfore Doctor FAUSTUS went to *the* table where as the other Iuglers kept that Lilly, *and* so he took a smal knife *and* cut off the stalke of the Lilly, saying to himself, none of the*m* should blind FAUSTUS: yet no man saw FAUSTUS to cut the Lilly, but when the rest of the Iuglers thought to haue set on their masters head, they could not, wherefore they looked on the Lilly, and found it a bleeding: by this meanes

[1]) 67, I 3. [2]) Th. 277.

the Iugler was beguiled, and so died in his wickednes, yet not one thought that Doctor FAUSTUS had done it.

How an old man the neighbour of Faustus, sought to perswade him to amend his euill life, and to fall vnto repentance. Chap. 48.

A Good Christian an honest and vertuous olde man, a louer of the holy scriptures, who was neighbour vnto Doctor FAUSTUS: when he perceiued that many students had their recourse in and out vnto Doctor FAUSTUS, he suspected his euill life, wherefore like a friend he inuited Doctor FAUSTUS to supper vnto his house, vnto the which hee agreed; and hauing ended their banquet, the olde man began with these words. My louing friend and neighbour Doctor FAUSTUS, I haue to desire of you a friendly and Christian [1]) request, beseeching you that you wil vouchsafe not to be angry with me, but friendly resolue mee in my doubt, and take my poore inuiting in good part. To whome Doctor FAUSTUS answered: My louing neighbour, I pray you say your minde. Then began the old Patron to say: My good neighbour, you know in the beginning [2]) how that you haue defied God, *and* all the hoast heauen, *and* giuen your soule to the Diuel, wherewith you haue incurred Gods high displeasure, and are become from a Christian farre worse than a heathen person: oh consider what you haue done, it is not onely the pleasure of the body, but the safety of the soule that you must haue respect vnto: of which if you be carelesse, then are you cast away, and shall remaine in the anger of almighty God. But yet is

[1]) Th. 278. [2]) 68, I 3 v°.

it time enough Doctor FAUSTUS, if you repent and call vnto the Lord for mercy, as wee haue example in the ACTS of the Apostles, the eight Chap. of SIMON in SAMARIA, who was led out of the way, affirming that he was SIMON HOMO SANCTUS. This man was notwithstanding in the end conuerted, after that he had heard the Sermon of PHILIP, for he was baptized, and sawe his sinnes, and repented. Likewise I beseech you good brother Doctor FAUSTUS, let my rude Sermon be vnto you a conuersion; and forget the filthy life that you haue led, repent, aske mercy, *and* liue: for Christ saith, *Come vnto me all ye that are weary and heauy loden, and I wil refresh you.* And in EZECHIEL: *I desire not the death of a sinner, but rather that hee conuert and liue.* Let my words good brother FAUSTUS, pearce into your [1]) adamant heart, and desire God for his Sonne Christ his sake, to forgiue you. Wherefore haue you so long liued in your Diuelish practises, knowing that in the olde and newe Testament you are forbidden, and that men should not suffer any such to liue, neither haue any conuersation with them, for it is an abomination vnto the Lord; and that such persons haue no part in the Kingdome of God. All this while Doctor FAUSTUS heard him very attentiuely, and replyed. Father, your perswasions like me wonderous well, and I thanke you with all my heart for your good will and counsell, promising you so farre as I may to follow your discipline: whereupon he tooke his leaue. And being come home, he layd him very pensiue on his bed, bethinking himselfe of the wordes of the good olde man, and in a maner began to repent that he had giuen his Soule to the Diuell, intending to denie all that hee had promised vnto

[1]) Th. 279.

LUCIFER. Continuing in these cogitations, sodainly his Spirit appeared vnto him clapping him vpon the head, and wrung it as though he would haue pulled the head from the shoulders, saying vnto him, Thou knowest FAUSTUS, that thou hast giuen thy selfe body and soule vnto my Lord LUCIFER, and hast vowed thy selfe an enemy vnto God and vnto all men; and now thou beginnest to harken to an olde doting foole which perswadeth thee as it were vnto God, when indeed it is too late, for thou art the diuels, and hee hath good power presently to fetch thee: [1]) wherefore he hath sent me vnto thee, to tell thee, that seeing thou hast sorrowed for that thou hast done, begin againe and write another [2]) writing with thine owne blood, if not, then will I teare thee all to peeces. Hereat Doctor FAUSTUS was sore afrayde, and sayd: My MEPHOSTOPHILES, I will write agayne what thou wilt: wherefore hee sate him downe, and with his owne blood hee wrote as followeth: which writing was afterward sent to a deare friend of the sayd Doctor FAUSTUS being his kinsman.

How Doctor Faustus wrote the second time with his owne blood and gaue it to the Diuell. Chap. 49.

I Doctor IOHN FAUSTUS, acknowledge by this my deede and handwriting, that sith my first writing, which is seuenteene yeares, that I haue right willingly held, and haue been an vtter enemy vnto God and all men, the which I once againe confirme, and giue fully *and* wholly my selfe vnto the Diuel both body and soule, euen vnto the great LUCIFER: and that at

[1]) 69, I 4. [2]) Th. 280.

the ende of seuen yeares ensuing after the date of this letter, he shall haue to doe with me according as it pleaseth him, either to lengthen or shorten my life as liketh him: and herevpon I renounce all perswaders that seeke to withdrawe mee from my purpose by the word of God, either ghostly or bodily. And further, I will neuer giue eare vnto any man, be he spirituall or temporall, that moueth any matter for the saluation of my soule. Of all this writing, and that therein contained, be witnesse, my own bloud, the which with mine own hands I haue begun, and ended.

Dated at Wittenberg the 25. of Iuly.

And [1]) presently vpon the making of this Letter, he became so great an enemie vnto the poore olde man, that he sought his life by all meanes possible; but this godly man was strong in the holy Ghost, that he could not be vanquished by any meanes: for about two dayes after that hee had exhorted FAUSTUS, as the poore man lay in his bed, sodainely there was a mightie rumbling in the Chamber, the which hee was neuer wont to heare, *and* he heard as it had been the groning of a Sowe, which lasted long: whereupon the good olde man began to iest, and mock, and saide: oh what Barbarian crie is this, oh fayre Bird, what foule musick is this of a faire Angell, that could not tarrie two dayes in his place? beginnest [2]) thou now to runne into a poore mans house, where thou hast no power, and wert not able to keepe thine own two daies? With these and such like wordes the Spirit departed. And when hee came home FAUSTUS asked him how hee had sped with the olde man: to whome

[1]) Th. 281. [2]) 70, I 4 v°.

the Spirit answered, the olde man was harnessed, and that hee could not once lay holde vpon him: but he would not tell howe the olde man had mocked him, for the diuels can neuer abide to heare of their fall. Thus doth God defend the hearts of all honest Christians, that betake themselues vnder his tuition.

How Doctor Faustus made a marriage betweene two louers. Chap. 50.

IN the Citie of WITTENBERG was a student, a gallant Gentleman, named N. N. This Gentleman was farre in loue with [1]) a Gentlewoman, fayre and proper of personage. This Gentlewoman had a Knight that was a suiter vnto her, and many other Gentlemen, the which desired her in mariage, but none could obtaine her: So it was that this N. N. was very well acquainted with FAUSTUS, and by that meanes became a suiter vnto him to assist him in the matter, for he fell so farre in despayre with himselfe, that he pined away to the skinne and bones. But when he had opened the matter vnto Doctor FAUSTUS, he asked counsell of his Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES, the which tolde him what to doe. Hereupon Doctor FAUSTUS went home to the Gentleman, and bade him be of good cheare, for he should haue his desire, for he would helpe him to that hee wished for, and that this Gentlewoman should loue none other but him onely: wherefore Doctor FAUSTUS so changed the minde of the Damsel by a practise he wrought, that she would doe no other thing but thinke on him, whome before she had hated, neither cared she for any man but him alone. The deuice was thus, FAUSTUS commaunded this Gentleman

[1]) Th. 282.

that he should cloth himselfe in all his best apparel that he had and that he should goe vnto this gentlewoman, and there to shew himselfe, giuing him also a Ring, commanding him in any wise that he should daunce with her before he departed. Wherefore he followed FAUSTUS his counsaile, went to her, and when they began to daunce they that were suiters began to take euery one his Lady in his hand, and this good Gentleman tooke her, whom before had so disdained him, and in the daunce hee thrust the Ring into her hand that Doctor Faustus had giuen him, the which shee no sooner toucht, but she fell immediatly in loue with him, beginning in the daunce to smile, [1]) and many times to giue him wincks, rouling her eyes, and in the end she asked him if he could [2]) loue her and make her his wife; hee gladly answered, hee was content: and hereupon they concluded, and were married, by the meanes and helpe of Doctor FAUSTUS, for which hee receiued a good reward of the Gentleman.

How Doctor Faustus led his friends into his Garden at Christmas, and shewed them many strange sights in his 19. yeare. Chap. 51.

IN December, about Christmas in the Citie of WITTENBERG, were many young Gentlewomen, the which were come out of the Countrey to make merry with their friends and acquaintance: amongst whome, there were certaine that were well acquainted with Doctor FAUSTUS, wherefore they were often inuited as his guests vnto him, and being with him on a certaine time after dinner, hee led them into his Garden, where he shewed them all maner of flowers, and [3]) fresh

[1]) 71, K 1. [2]) Th. 283. [3]) and] aud.

hearbs, Trees bearing fruit and blossomes of all sortes, insomuch that they wondered to see that in his Garden should bee so pleasant a time as in the middest of summer: and without in the streetes, and all ouer the Countrey, it lay full of Snowe and yce. Wherefore this was noted of them as a thing miraculous, each one gathering and carrying away all such things as they best liked, and so departed delighted with their sweete smelling flowers.

How Doctor Faustus gathered together a great armie of men in his extremitie agaynst a Knight that would haue iniured him on his iourney. Chap. 52.

DOctor FAUSTUS trauelled towards EYSZLEBEN, and when he was [1]) nigh halfe the way, he espied seuen horsemen, and the chiefe of them hee knew to be the knight to whome he had plaied a iest in the Emperours Court, for he had set a huge payre of Harts hornes vpon his head: and when the knight now saw that he had fit opportunitie to be reuenged of FAUSTUS he ran vpon him himselfe, *and* those that were with him, to mischiefe him, intending priuily to shoot at him: which when Doctor FAUSTUS espied, he vanished away into the wood which was hard by them. But when the Knight perceiued that he was vanished away, he caused his [2]) men to stand still, where as they remayned they heard all manner of warlike instruments of musick, as Drummes, Flutes, Trumpets, and such like, and a certaine troupe of horsemen running towards them. Then they turned another way, and there also were assaulted on the same side: then another way, and yet they were freshly assaulted, so that which way soeuer they turned themselues, hee was

[1]) Th. 284. [2]) 72, K 1 v°.

encountred: in so much that when the Knight perceiued that he could escape no way, but that they his enemies layd on him which way soeuer hee offered to flie, he tooke a good heart and ranne amongst the thickest, and thought with himselfe better to die than to liue with so great an infamie. Therefore being at handy-blowes with them, hee demaunded the cause why they should so vse them: but none of them would giue him answere, vntill Doctor FAUSTUS shewed himselfe vnto the Knight, where withall they inclosed him round, and Doctor FAUSTUS sayde vnto him, Sir, yeelde your weapon, and yourselfe, otherwise it will goe hardly with you. The Knight that knew none other but that he was inuironed [1]) with an hoast of men, (where indeede they were none other than Diuels) yeelded: then FAUSTUS tooke away his sworde, his piece, and horse, with all the rest of his companions. And further hee said vnto him; Sir, the chiefe General of our armie hath commaunded to deale with you according to the law of Armes, you shall depart in peace whither you please: and then he gaue the Knight an horse after the maner, and set him theron, so he rode, the rest went on foote vntill they came to their Inne, where being alighted, his Page rode on his horse to the water, and presently the horse vanyshed away, the Page being almost suncke and drowned, but he escaped: and comming home, the Knight perceiued his Page so be myred *and* on foote, asked where his horse was become? Who answered that he was vanished away: which when the Knight heard, he said, of a truth this is FAUSTUS his doing, for he serueth me now as he did before at the Court, only to make me a skorne and a laughing stock.

[1]) Th. 285.

How Doctor Faustus caused Mephostophiles to bring him seuen of the fayrest women that he could finde in all those countries he had traueiled in, in the 20. yeare. Chap. 53.

WHen Doctor FAUSTUS called to minde, that his time from day to day drew nigh, hee began to liue a swinish and Epicurish life, wherefore he commaunded his Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES, to bring him seuen [1]) of the fayrest women that he had seene in all the time of his trauel: which being brought, first one, and then another, he lay with them [2]) all, insomuch that he liked them so well, that he continued with them in all maner of loue, and made them to trauell with him in all his iourneies. These women were two NETHERLANDERS, one HUNGARIAN, one ENGLISH, two WALLONS, one FRANCKLANDER: and with these sweete personages he continued long, yea euen to his last ende.

How Doctor Faustus found a masse of money when hee had consumed 22. of his yeares. Chap. 54.

TO the ende that the Diuell would make FAUSTUS his onely heire, he shewed vnto him where he should goe and finde a mighty huge masse of money, and that hee should haue it in an olde Chappell that was fallen downe, halfe a mile distant from WITTENBERG, there hee bade him to dig and he should finde it, the which he did, and hauing digged reasonable deepe, he saw a mighty huge serpent, the which lay

[1]) 73, K 2. [2]) Th. 286.

on the treasure it selfe, the treasure it selfe lay like an huge light burning: but D. FAUSTUS charmed the serpent that he crept into a hole, and when he digged deeper to get vp the treasure, he found nothing but coles of fire: there also he heard and saw many that were tormented, yet notwithstanding he brought away the coles, and when he was come home, it was al turned into siluer and gold, as after his death was found by his seruant, the which was almost about estimation, a thousand gilders.

How [1]) Doctor Faustus made the Spirit of fayre Helena of Greece his own Paramour and bedfellow in his 23. yeare. Chap. 55.

TO the ende that this miserable FAUSTUS might fill the lust of his flesh, and liue in all manner of voluptuous pleasures, it came in his minde after he had slept his first sleepe, *and* in the 23. yeare past of his time, that he had a great desire to lie with fayre HELENA of GREECE, especially her whom he had seene and shewed vnto the students of WITTENBERG, wherefore he called vnto him his Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES, com*m*anding him to bring him the faire HELENA, which [2]) he also did. Whereupo*n* he fel in loue with her, *and* made her his common Concubine *and* bedfellow, for she was so beautifull and delightful a peece, that he could not be one houre [3]) from her, if hee should therefore haue suffered death, shee had so stolne away his heart: and to his seeming, in time she was with childe, and in the end brought him a man childe, whome FAUSTUS named IUSTUS FAUSTUS: this childe tolde Doctor FAUSTUS many things that

[1]) Th. 287. [2]) which] whic [3]) 74, K 2 v°.

were to come, and what strange matters were done in forraine countries: but in the end when FAUSTUS lost his life, the mother and the childe vanished away both together.

How Doctor Faustus made his Will, in the which he named his seruant Wagner to be his heire. Chap. 56.

DOctor FAUSTUS was now in his 24. and last yeare, and hee had a prety stripling to his seruant, the which had [1]) studied also at the Uniuersitie of WITTENBERG: this youth was very well acquainted with his knaueries and sorceries, so that hee was hated as well for his owne knaueries, as also for his Masters: for no man would giue him entertainement into his seruice, because of his vnhappines, but FAUSTUS: this WAGNER was so well beloued with FAUSTUS, that hee vsed him as his sonne: for doo what hee would his master was alwayes therewith well content. And when the time drewe nigh that FAUSTUS should end, hee called vnto him a Notary and certaine masters the which were his friends and often conuersant with him, in whose presence he gaue this WAGNER his house and Garden. Item, hee gaue him in ready money 1600. gilders. Item, a Farme. Item, a gold chayne, much plate, and other housholde stuffe. This gaue he al to his seruant, and the rest of his time he meant to spend in Innes and Students company, drinking and eating, with other Iollitie: and thus hee finished his Will for that time.

[1]) Th. 288.

How Doctor Faustus fell in talke with his seruant touching his Testament, and the couenants thereof. Chap. 57.

NOw when this Will was made, Doctor FAUSTUS called vnto him his seruant, saying: I haue thought vpon thee in my Testament, for that thou hast beene a trusty seruant vnto me and a faithfull, and hast not opened my secrets: and yet further (sayd he) aske of me before I die what thou wilt, and I will giue it vnto thee. His seruant [1]) rashly answered, I pray you let mee haue your cunning. To which [2]) Doctor FAUSTUS answered, I haue giuen thee all my bookes, vpon this condition, that thou wouldst not let them bee common, but vse them for thine owne pleasure, and studie carefully in them. And doest thou also desire my cunning? That maiest thou peraduenture haue, if thou loue and peruse my bookes well. Further (sayd Doctor FAUSTUS) seeing that thou desirest of me this request, I will resolue thee: my spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES his time is out with me, and I haue nought to commaund him as touching thee, yet will I helpe thee to another, if thou like well thereof. And within three dayes after he called his seruant vnto him, saying: art thou resolued? wouldst thou verily haue a Spirit? Then tell me in what maner or forme thou wouldst haue him? To whome his seruant answered, that hee would haue him in the forme of an Ape: whereupon presently appeared a Spirit vnto him in maner and forme of an Ape, the which leaped about the house. Then sayd FAUSTUS,

[1]) 75, K 3. [2]) Th. 289.

see, there hast thou thy request, but yet he will not obey thee vntill I be dead, for when my Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES shall fetch me away, then shal thy Spirit be bound vnto thee, if thou agree: and thy Spirit shalt thou name AKERCOCKE, for so is he called: but all this is vpon condition that thou publish my cunning, and my merry conceits, with all that I haue done (when I am dead) in an hystory: and if thou canst not remember all, thy Spirit AKERCOCKE will helpe thee: so shall the great actes that I haue done be manifested vnto the world.

How [1]) Doctor Faustus hauing but one moneth of his appoynted time to come, fell to mourning and sorrowe with himselfe for his diuelish exercise. Chap. 58.

TIme ranne away with FAUSTUS, as the houre glasse, for hee had but one moneth to come of his 24. yeares, at the end wherof he had giuen himselfe to the Diuell body and soule, as is before specified. Here was the first token, for he was like a taken murtherer or a theefe, the which findeth himselfe guiltie in conscience before the Iudge haue giuen sentence, fearing euery houre to die: for hee was grieued, and wayling spent the time, went talking to himselfe, wringing of his hands, sobbing and sighing, hee fell away from flesh, and was very leane, and kept [2]) himselfe close: neither could he abide to see or heare of his MEPHOSTOPHILES any more.

[1]) Th. 290. [2]) kept] kpt

How [1]) Doctor Faustus complayned that hee should in his lusty time and youthful yeares die so miserably. Chap. 59.

THis sorrowfull time drawing neere so troubled Doctor FAUSTUS, that he began to write his minde, to the ende he might peruse it often and not forget it, and is in maner as followeth.

Ah FAUSTUS, thou sorrowful and wofull man, now must thou goe to the damned company in vnquenchable fire, whereas thou mightest haue had the ioyfull immortalitie of the soule, the which thou now hast lost. Ah grosse vnderstanding and wilfull will, what seazeth [2]) on my limmes other than a robbing of my life? Bewayle with me my sound *and* healthfull body, wit and soule, bewayle with me my sences, for you haue had your part and pleasure as well as I. Oh enuie and disdaine, how haue you crept both at once into me, and now for your sakes I must suffer all these torments? Ah whither is pitie and mercy fled? Vpon what occasion hath heauen repayed me with this reward by sufferance to suffer me to perish? Wherefore was I created a man? The punishment that I see prepared for me of my selfe now must I suffer. Ah miserable wretch, there is nothing in this world to shew me comfort: then woe is me, what helpeth my wayling.

Another complaint of Doctor Faustus. Chap. 60.

OH poore, wofull and weary wretch: oh sorrowfull soule of FAUSTUS, now art thou in the number of the damned, for now must I waite for vnmeasurable paynes of death, yea far more lamentable than euer

[1]) 76, K 3 v°. [2]) Th. 291.

yet any creature hath suffered. Ah senceles, wilful *and* desperate forgetfulnesse! O cursed and vnstable life! O blinde and carelesse wretch, that so hast abused thy body, sence and soule! O foolish pleasure, into what a weary labyrinth hast thou brought mee, blinding mine eyes in the clearest day? Ah weake heart! O troubled soule, where is become thy knowledge to comfort thee? O pitifull wearines! Oh desperate hope, now shall I neuer more be thought vpon! Oh, care vpon carefulnesse, and sorrowes on heapes: Ah grieuous paynes that pearce my panting heart, whom is there now that can deliuer me? Would God that I knew where to hide me, or into what place to creepe or flie. Ah, woe, woe is me, be where I will, yet am I taken. Herewith poore FAUSTUS [1]) was so sorrowfully troubled, that he could not speake or vtter his minde any further.

How Doctor Faustus bewayled to thinke on Hell, and of the miserable paynes therein prouided for him. Chap. 61. [2])

NOw thou FAUSTUS, damned wretch, howe happy wert thou if as an vnreasonable beast thou mightest die without soule, so shouldest thou not feele any more doubts? But nowe the diuell will take thee away both body and soule, and set thee in an vnspeakable place of darkenesse: for although others soules haue rest and peace, yet I poore damned wretch must suffer all manner of filthy stench, paines, colde, hunger, thirst, heate, freezing, burning, hissing, gnashing, and all the wrath and curse of God, yea all the creatures that God hath created are enemies to mee. And now

[1]) 77, K 4. [2]) Chap. 61.] *omitted.*

too late I remember that my Spirit MEPHOSTOPHILES did [1]) once tell mee, there was a great difference amongst the damned; for the greater the sinne, the greater the torment: for as the twigges of the tree make greater flame than the trunke therof, and yet the trunke continueth longer in burning; euen so the more that a man is rooted in sinne, the greater is his punishment. Ah thou perpetuall damned wretch, now art thou throwne into the euerlasting fiery lake that neuer shall be quenched, there must I dwell in all manner of wayling, sorrow, misery, payne, torment, griefe, howling sighing, sobbing, blubbering, running of eies, stinking at nose, gnashing of teeth, feare to the eares, horror to the conscience, and shaking both of hand and foote. Ah that I could carry the heauens on my shoulders, so that there were time at last to quit me of this euerlasting damnation! Oh who can deliuer me out of these fearful tormenting flames, the which I see prepared for me? Oh there is no helpe, nor any man that can deliuer me, nor any wayling of sins can help me, neither is there rest to be found for me day nor night. Ah wo is me, for there is no help for me, no shield, no defence no comfort. Where is my hold? knowledge dare I not trust: and for a soule to God wards that haue I not, for I shame to speake vnto him: if I doo, no answere shall be made me, but hee will hide his face from me, to the end that I should not beholde the ioyes of the chosen. What meane I then to complaine where no help is? No, I know no hope resteth in my gronings. I haue desired that it should bee so, and God hath sayd AMEN to my misdoings: for now I must haue shame to comfort me in my calamities.

[1]) Th. 292.

Here [1]) followeth the miserable and lamentable ende of Doctor Faustus, by the which all Christians may take an example and warning. Chap. 62.

IN the 24. yeare Doctor FAUSTUS his time being come, his Spirit appeared vnto him, giuing him his writing againe, and commaunding him to make preparation, for that the diuel would fetch him agaynst a certaine time appoynted. D. FAUSTUS [2]) mourned and sighed wonderfully, and neuer went to bed, nor slept winke for sorrow. Wherefore his Spirit appeared againe, comforting him, and saying: My FAUSTUS, be not thou so cowardly minded; for although that thou losest thy body, it is not long vnto the day of Iudgement, and thou must die at the last, although thou liue many thousand yeares. The Turkes, the Iewes, *and* many an vnchristian Emperour, are in the same condemnation: therefore (my FAUSTUS) be of good courage, and be not discomforted, for the diuel hath promised that thou shalt not be in paines as the rest of the damned are. This and such like comfort he gaue him, but he tolde him false, and agaynst the saying of the holy Scriptures. Yet Doctor FAUSTUS that had none other expectation but to pay his debts with his owne skinne, went on the same day that his Spirit sayd the diuel would fetch him, vnto his trusty and dearest beloued brethren and companions, as Masters, and Batchelers of Arte, and other students more the which had often visited him at his house in merriment: these he entreated that they would walke into [3]) the Village called RIMLICH, halfe a mile from WITTENBERG, and that they would

[1]) 78, K 4 v°; Th. 293. [2]) FAUSTUS] FAUSTUS. [3]) Th. 294.

there take with him for their repast part of a small banquet, the which they all agreed vnto: so they went together, and there held their dinner in a most sumptuous maner. Doctor FAUSTUS with them (dissemblingly) was merry, but not from the heart: wherefore he requested them that they would also take part of his rude supper: the which they agreed vnto: for (quoth hee) I must tell you what is the Victulers due: and when they sleeped (for drinke was in their heads) then Doctor FAUSTUS payed and discharged the shot, and bound the students and the Masters to goe with him into another roume, for he had many wonderfull matters to tell them: and when they were entred the roume as he requested, Doctor FAUSTUS sayd vnto them, as hereafter followeth.

An [1]) Oration of Faustus to the Students. Chap. 63.

MY trusty and welbeloued friends, the cause why I haue inuited you into this place is this: Forasmuch as you haue knowne me this many yeares, in what maner of life I haue liued, practising al maner of coniurations and wicked exercises, the which I haue obtayned through the helpe of the diuel, into whose diuelish fellowship they haue brought me, the which vse the like Arte and practise, vrged by the detestable prouocation of my flesh, my stiffe necked and rebellious will, with my filthy infernall thoughts, the which were euer before me, pricking mee forward [2]) so earnestly, that I must perforce haue the consent of the diuell to ayde me in my deuises. And to the end I might the better bring my purpose to passe, to haue

[1]) 79 (by mistake: 81), L 1. [2]) Th. 295.

the Diuels ayd and furtherance, which I neuer haue wanted in mine actions, I haue promised vnto him at the ende and accomplishing of 24. yeares, both body and soule, to doe therewith at his pleasure: and this day, this dismall day those 24. yeares are fully expired, for night beginning my houre-glasse is at an end, the direfull finishing whereof I carefully expect: for out of all doubt this night hee will fetch mee, to whome I haue giuen my selfe in recompence of his seruice, both body and soule, and twice confirmed writings with my proper blood. Now haue I called you my welbeloued Lords, friends, brethren, and fellowes, before that fatall houre to take my friendly farewell, to the end that my departing may not hereafter be hidden from you, beseeching you herewith courteous, and louing Lords and brethren, not to take in euil part any thing done by mee, but with friendly commendations to salute all my friends and companions wheresoeuer: desiring both you and them, if euer I haue trespassed against your minds in any thing, that you would all heartily forgiue me: and as for those lewd practises the which this full 24. yeares I haue followed, you shall hereafter finde them in writing: and I beseech you let this my lamentable ende to the residue of your liues bee a sufficient warning, that you haue God alwayes before your eies, praying vnto him that he would euer defend you from the temptation of the diuell, and all his false deceipts, not [1]) falling altogether from God, as I wretched and vngodly damned creature haue done, hauing denied and defied Baptisme, the Sacraments of Christs body, God himselfe, all heauenly powers, and earthly men, yea, I haue denied such a God, that desireth not to haue

[1]) Th. 296.

one lost. Neither let the euill [1]) fellowship of wicked companions misselead you as it hath done me: visit earnestly and oft the Church, warre and striue continually agaynst the Diuell with a good and stedfast beliefe on God, and Iesus Christ, and vse your vocation in holines. Lastly, to knitte vp my troubled Oration, this is my friendly request, that you would to rest, *and* let nothing trouble you: also if you chance to heare any noise, or rumbling about the house, be not therwith afrayd, for there shal no euil happen vnto you: also I pray you arise not out of your beds. But aboue all things I intreate you, if you hereafter finde my dead carkasse, conuay it vnto the earth, for I dye both a good and bad Christian; a good Christian, for that I am heartely sorry, and in my heart alwayes praye for mercy, that my soule may be deliuered: a bad Christian, for that I know the Diuell will haue my bodie, and that would I willingly giue him so that he would leaue my soule in quiet: wherefore I pray you that you would depart to bed, and so I wish you a quiet night, which vnto me notwithstanding will be horrible and fearefull.

This Oration or declaration was made by Doctor Faustus, *and* that with a hearty and resolute minde, to the ende hee might not discomfort them: but the Students wondered greatly thereat, that he was so blinded, for knauery, coniuration, and such like foolish things, to giue his body and soule vnto the diuell: for they loued him entirely, and neuer suspected [2]) any such thing before he had opened his mind to them: wherefore one of them sayd vnto him; ah, friend Faustus, what haue you done to conceale this matter so long from vs, we would by the help of good

[1]) 80, L 1 v°. [2]) Th. 297.

Diuines, and the grace of God, haue brought you out of this net, and haue torne you out of the bondage and chaynes of Sathan, whereas nowe we feare it is too late, to the vtter ruine of your body and soule? Doctor FAUSTUS answered, I durst neuer doo it, although I often minded, to settle my selfe vnto godly people, to desire counsell and helpe, as once mine olde neighbour counsailed mee, that I shoulde follow his learning, and leaue all my coniurations, yet when I was minded to amend, and to followe that good mans counsell, then came the Diuell and would haue had me away, as this night he is like to doe, and sayd so soone as I turned againe to God, hee would dispatch mee altogether. Thus, euen thus, (good Gentlemen, and my deare friends) was I inthralled in that Satanicall band, all good desires drowned, all pietie banished, al purpose of amendment vtterly exiled, by the tyranous threatnings of my deadly enemy. But when the Students heard his words, they gaue him counsaile to doo naught else but call vpon God, desiring him [1]) for the loue of his sweete Sonne Iesus Christes sake, to haue mercy vpon him, teaching him this forme of prayer. O God bee mercifull vnto me, poore and miserable sinner, and enter not into iudgement with me, for no flesh is able to stand before thee. Although, O Lord, I must leaue my sinfull body vnto the Diuell, being by him deluded, yet thou in mercy mayest preserue my soule.

This [2]) they repeated vnto him, yet it could take no holde, but euen as CAINE he also said his sinnes were greater than God was able to forgiue; for all his thought was on his writing, he meant he had made it too filthy in writing it with his owne blood. The

[1]) 81, L 2. [2]) Th. 298.

Students *and* the other that were there, when they had prayed for him, they wept, and so went foorth, but FAUSTUS taryed in the hall: and when the Gentlemen were laid in bed, none of them could sleepe, for that they attended to heare if they might be priuy of his ende. It happened between twelue and one a clock at midnight, there blewe a mighty storme of winde against the house, as though it would haue blowne the foundation therof out of his place. Hereupon the Students began to feare, and got out of their beds, comforting one another, but they would not stirre out of the chamber: and the Host of the house ran out of doores, thinking the house would fall. The Students lay neere vnto that hall wherein Doctor FAUSTUS lay, and they heard a mighty noyse and hissing, as if the hall had beene full of Snakes and Adders: with that the hall doore flew open wherein Doctor FAUSTUS was, then he began to crie for helpe, saying: murther, murther, but it came foorth with halfe a voyce hollowly: shortly after they heard him no more. But when it was day, the Students that had taken no rest that night, arose and went into the hall in the which they left Doctor FAUSTUS, where notwithstanding they found no FAUSTUS, but all the hall lay besprinckled with blood, his braines cleauing to the wall: for the Diuel had beaten him from one wall against another, in [1]) one corner lay his eyes, in another his teeth, a pitifull [2]) and fearefull sight to beholde. Then began the Students to bewayle and weepe for him, and sought for his body in many places: lastly they came into the yarde where they found his bodie lying on the horse dung, most

[1]) in] in in [2]) Th. 299.

monstrously torne, and fearefull to beholde, for his head and all his ioynts were dasht in peeces.

The forenamed Students and Masters that were at his death, haue obtayned so much, that they buried him in the Village where he was so grieuously tormented. After the which, they returned to WITTENBERG, *and* comming into the house of FAUSTUS, they found *the* seruant of FAUSTUS very sad, [1]) vnto whom they opened all the matter, who tooke it exceeding heauilie. There found they also this history of Doctor FAUSTUS noted, and of him written as is before declared, all saue onely his ende, the which was after by the students thereto annexed: further, what his seruant had noted thereof, was made in another booke. And you haue heard that he held by him in his life the Spirit of fayre HELENA, the which had by him one sonne, the which he named IUSTUS FAUSTUS, euen the same day of his death they vanished away, both mother and sonne. The house before was so darke, that scarce any body could abide therein. The same night Doctor FAUSTUS appeared vnto his seruant liuely, and shewed vnto him many secret things the which hee had done and hidden in his life time. Likewise there were certaine which saw Doctor FAUSTUS looke out of the window by night as they passed by the house.

And thus ended the whole history of Doctor FAUSTUS his coniuration, and other actes that he did in his life; out of the which [2]) example euery Christian may learne, but chiefly the stiffe-necked and high minded may thereby learne to feare God, and to be careful

[1]) 82 (by mistake: 80), L 2 v°. [2]) Th. 300.

of their vocation, and to be at defiance with all diuelish workes, as God hath most precisely forbidden, to the end we should not inuite the diuell as a guest, nor giue him place as that wicked FAUSTUS hath done: for here we haue a feareful example of his writing, promise, and end, that we may remember him: that we goe not astray, but take God alwaies before our eies, to call alone vpon him, and to honour him all the dayes of our life, with heart and hearty prayer, and with al our strength and soule to glorifie his holy name, defying the Diuell and all his works, to the end we may remayne with Christ in all endlesse ioy: Amen, Amen, that wish I vnto euery Christian heart, and Gods name to bee glorified. Amen.

FINIS.

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[1]) There is no table of contents in Thoms.

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Another question put forth by Doctor Faustus to his Spirit concerning his Lord Lucifer, with the sorrow that Faustus fell afterwardes into. ibid. (21)
Another disputation betwixt Doctor Faustus and his Spirit of the power of the diuell, and of his enuie to mankinde. 14 (23)
How Doctor Faustus desired againe of his Spirit to know the secrets *and* paines of Hell, and whether those damned diuels and their company might euer come into the fauour of God agayne, or not. 16 (25)
Another question put foorth by Doctor Faustus to his Spirit Mephostophiles of his owne estate. 19 (31)
The second part of Doctor Faustus his life, *and* practises vntill his end. 22 (32)
A question put forth by Doctor Faustus to his Spirit, concerning Astronomie. 23 (33)
How Doctor Faustus fell into despayre with himselfe: for hauing put forth a question vnto his Spirit, they fell at variance, whereupon the whole rout of Diuels appeared vnto him, threatning him sharply. 23 (36)
How Doctor Faustus desired to see Hell, and of the maner how hee was vsed therein. 26 (41)
How Doctor Faustus was carryed into the

ayre vp to the heauens to see the world, and how the Skie and Planets ruled: after the which hee wrote a letter to his friend of the same to Lyptzig, howe hee went about the world in eight dayes. 29 (46)
How Doctor Faustus [1]) made his iourney through the principall and most famous lands in the world. 33 (52)
How Faustus had a sight of Paradise. 45 (72)
Of a certaine Comet that appeared in Germany, and how Doctor Faustus was desired by certaine friends of his to know the meaning therof. 46 (74)
A question put foorth to Doctor Faustus, concerning the Starres. 47 (75)
How Faustus was asked a question concerning the Spirites that vexe men. 48 (76)
How Doctor Faustus was asked a question concerning the Starres that fall from Heauen. ibid. (77)
How Faustus was asked a question concerning thunder. 49 (77)
The third part, how the Emperour Carolus quintus requested of Faustus to see some of his cunning, whereunto he agreed. ibid. (78)
How Doctor Faustus in the sight of the Emperour coniured a payre of Harts hornes vpon a Knights head that slept out of a cazement. 51 (81)
How the Knight sought to be reuenged of Faustus. 52 (82)
A merry conceit of Faustus with three young Dukes. ibid. (83)

[1]) Faustus] Faustus,

How Faustus borrowed money of a Iewe. 54 (86)
How Faustus deceiued an Horse-courser. 56 (88)
How Doctor Faustus eate a lode of Hay. ibid. (89)
How Faustus played a iest with twelue Students. 57 (90)
How Faustus serued the drunken Clownes. ibid. (90)
How Faustus solde fiue Swine. 58 (91)
How Faustus played a merry conceit with the Duke of Anholt. ibid. (92)
How he made a Castle in the presence of the Duke of Anholt. 59 (93)
How they robbed the Bishop of Saltzburg his Celler. 60 (95)
How Faustus kept his shrouetide. 61 (96)
Faustus his feast to his friends on the Ash-wednesday. 62 (98)
How the next day he was feasted of his friendes. 63 (100)
How he shewed his friends the fayre Helena of Greece. 64 (101)
How Faustus [1]) coniured away the foure wheeles of a Clowns waggon. 65 (103)
How he deceiued the foure Iuglers. 66 (104)
How an old neighbour of Faustus gaue him counsaile to amend his life. 67 (106)
How Faustus wrote againe the second time, with his owne blood, and gaue it to the Diuel. 69 (108)
How he made a mariage betwixt two Louers. 70 (110)
Of his rare flowers at Christmas in his Garden. 71 (111)
How he gathered together a great armie of men. ibid. (112)
How he gat for himselfe seuen fayre Ladies. 72 (114)

[1]) Faustus] Fastus

How he found treasure in the 22. yeare of his time. 73 (114)
How he made fayre Helena his Paramour. ibid. (115)
How he made his Will. 74 (116)
His talke with his seruant. ibid. (117)
Fiue complaints of Doctor Faustus before his end. 75, 76, 77 (118, 119, 120)
His miserable ende, with his Oration to his friends. 78, 79 (122, 123)

FINIS.

NOTES.

‚rebuked him . . ., as Eli oft times rebuked his children' (pp. 1.2).

Spies has a reference to the first chapter of Hiob here (see the fifth verse) — whereas the Wolfenbüttel text has: Job — for which our translator, possibly because the form Hiob was not familiar to him, thinking of I Sam. 2, 23 seqq. substituted a reference to Eli.

‚profited in' (p. 2).

See my Faustus-Notes p. 7, where this instance should have been quoted, for it is just possible that this should constitute one of the verbal coincidences which I referred to *ib.* p. 148.

‚for a shadow' (p. 3).

The German text has: zum Glimpf *i. e.* about: as is right; so that P. F. seems to have made a shot at it. ‚For a shadow', for which I have no other references, can only mean: pretendedly, falsely.

‚Spisser waldt . . . Spissers Wood' (p. 4).

I quote part of Kühne's note on p. 156 of his edition: ‚Spesser Wald, Speszhart (Hart ist Wald), Spechteshart, Spechtswald. (Frisch). Ob auf einer Verwechselung beruhend? Luthers Tischreden c. 4. Wie die Leute umb zeitlicher Güter *etc.* ‚ging spaciren im Speck'. Hierzu Förstemann in seiner ausgabe der Lutherschen Tischreden. Leipzig, 1844, 1845: ‚Die Specke waz ein Wäldchen bei Wittenberg; obgleich es jetzt ausgerodet ist, hat sich doch der Name bisher erhalten' etc.

Spissers wood is a translation that does not help to solve the problem.

MEPHOSTOPHILES

In Spies, the name of the Spirit is not given until the heading of Chap. 4.

‚then fell the Diuell to bleare as if the whole Wood had been full of Lyons' (p. 4).

Spies has here (p. 14).: Darnach liesz der Teuffel sich an, als wann der Waldt voller Teuffel were. The substitution of the Lyons for the Teuffel becomes clear if we remember that blear is here of course the modern to blare = to roar, — which word is substituted for blear in Thoms' text. But why did the translator render the general ‚liesz sich an' = behaved, by the specific to bleare = to roar. I think the special occasion for this substitution may be found in the fact that the translator read more than once of Geplerr in connection with the Teuffel of his original. Thus already a few lines lower down (Spies, p. 14:) ‚darauff der Teuffel ihm ein solch Geplerr .... machte' and ib. p. 15: ‚dasz ein Geist(here = the devil) .... dem Menschen ein solch Geplerr kan machen'. Particularly interesting in this connection is the following passage (Spies p. 22): ‚Darauff folgte ein ... Geplerr, als wann die Münch singen', for, whereas there is no equivalent in our text for either of the two passages quoted first, there is a most interesting one in the place, corresponding to the last mentioned: *viz.*, ‚the Spirit began to blare as in a singing manner'. It looks therefore as if P. F. had taken Geplerr (in the two former passages = Gaukelspiel, Erscheinung; see Milchsack p. CLV on this most important element in the composition of the Faustbuch) to mean blearing, roaring, which it does mean sometimes, as probably on p. 22. — An interesting parallel to the blearing Lion is found in Hampole's Pricke of Conscience, 2224): ‚Als wode lyons thai (scil. devels) sal .... grymly gryn on hym and blere', which I find quoted in a mass of material, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. C. Stoffel of Nymegen for my forthcoming edition of Caxton's Reynard the Foxe. In this latter text (ed. Arber p. 86) we find the word applied to the melodious accents of the ass.

‚paued Stones'

This is a characteristic addition by the translator.

‚halfe amazed at the Diuels so long tarrying' (p. 4)

See p. 5: ‚FAUSTUS vexed at the Spirits so long tarying'; p. 42 l. 3. from top and my Faustus-Notes p. 32. On the unintelligible words mentioned there, see also Milchsack p. CLXXiii, *note*.

‚aspecting his purpose'

The word aspecting — which is of course quite correct, see Murray's first sense — is changed in Thoms' text into ‚expecting'.

‚where at sodainly' (p. 5)

Read: whereat sodainly.

‚pride and high minde' (p. 7).

The well-known adj. high-minded may have originated in a compounding of high and minded or in a derivation of a subst. high-mind. It may be that we have an instance of this word here, which is not recorded in the N.E.D., but it is safe to add that the German text has here: Hoffart und Ubermuht (Spies, p. 16).

‚an host in MERIDIE' etc.

host is an inaccurate translation of Herrschaft (Spies p. 16).

‚arose where he sate'

A most amusingly blundering translation. In the German text we have something quite different *viz.* D. Faustus entsetzt sich darob *i. e.* Dr. Faustus was frightened by what he heard. The reason for his *entsetzen* is more apparent from Spies than from our text, for P. F. omitted a passage here. See Spies p. 16, bottom lines.

‚take Saint VALENTINES farewell *and* CRISAM with thee'

The German text has: hab dir S. Veltins Griesz vnd Crisam. Kühne gives the necessary explanation here, noticing that epilepsy was called ‚S. Valtins Krankheit' in the sixteenth century (‚Valtin kompt von fallen') and that Griesz is here = painful malady in general, originally: grober Sand, Kies, Stein in der Blase'. ‚He then adds: Und wenn jemand flucht: ‚dasz dich Sant Veltes Krisem anstosz' oder

‚hab dir S. Veltins Crisam!' so flucht er ihm damit die Krankheit auf' — so far every thing is clear, but now we get a knotty point — ‚die das durch Berührung der Reliquien des h. Valentin .... als Heilmittel wirkende (Salb-) Oel *Chrisma* wegschafft' (p. 163). It does not appear how the desire that any one should receive a *Chrisma i. e.* (here) a remedy, could work as an invocation of evil. However that be, the Englishman — *teste* the form Crisam — does not seem to have understood the word (or he would have used a spelling current in his time) and he translated Griesz by farewell. Probably he took it = Gruss, but no such change of vowel occurs in our Frankfort text.

‚with a bell in his hande like Saint ANTHONIE'

The Saint Anthony with a bell in his hand appears to have been S. Anthony of Padua, not his older namesake. See Chambers' Book of Days, I p.p. 126 and (especially) 778. These words were added by the English translator. On the friar and his bell, see the Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Renaissance Literatur, 1887 p. 174.

‚approued in the Elements' (p. 12).

This collocation ‚approved in' is not in the N.E.D. See *infra* p. 14: ‚make him .... better seene in his diuelish exercise' and p. 46: in any of your owne studies I am seene further'. See Dr. Faustus l. 167 and Ward's note (3d ed.) p. 144.

‚blare' see *supra* p. 3.

‚counting house'

The German has: Losament (p. 22).

‚the cocke brusling of his tayle' (p. 13).

See the N.E.D. *in voce* brustle v.[2] *sub* 3, and Brustling vbl. sb.[2] The present instance is older than any given in the N.E.D. It is only just to Dr. Murray to add that the only generally accessible text — that of Thoms — prints ‚bruising of his tail'. It is no bad translation of the German: zankten mit einander.

‚Waights .... Anomes'

Waights are said to be hautboys by Halliwell — see his

Dict. and his ed. of Nares *in voce* — but no reference is given, where the possibility of the word meaning the musician (instead of the instrument) is excluded. But the context here seems conclusive. I am ignorant as to the meaning of Anomes. The German text does not help us.

‚and hauing alreadie deliuered his writing not into' etc. (p. 14).

There is most likely a misprint here; either not should be now as in Thoms' text, or ‚writing not' should be written note.

‚an vnhappie wagge'

a rather incorrect translation of ‚einen verwegenen Lecker' (Spies p. 24) here = an insolent fellow.

‚seene in' c.f. *ante* p. 138.

‚thinke with what .... life .... thou shalt liue in' (p. 16).

Either With or in creates a difficulty here, but I do not think either should be omitted. The passage, as it stands, may be a cross between the two constructions.

‚if he should motion Matrimonie any more'

A reminiscence of my Faustus-Notes p. 98 (*i. e.* Historie p. 79) suggested to me that here too, we might perhaps have to read mention. This is, however, not necessary. Here we have motion in the sense of to propose, for which see I Henry IV, I, 3, 63. (Schmidt). For I do not think that any difficulty is constituted by the slight difference in meaning between the two cases in point: to propose for oneself on the one hand, and to propose for some one else on the other. On p. 30 we have motion = suggestion, instigation.

‚he would haue gone vp the staires' (p. 17).

The English translator does not seem to have understood the German text (Spies p. 26): gab das Fersengelt die Stiegen hinab *i. e.* he took to his heels down the stairs.

‚desiring him of pardon'

See, on this construction, Mätzner[3] II, 266 and also Franz, Shakespeare Grammatik p. 244. Even if we do not

go the length of Rowe and Collier [1]) who, looking upon this as a mistake, change, *e. g.* desire you of into desire of you, we are apt to think that such a transposition might be the origin of the construction. We should then perhaps have a parallel in Shakespeare's: ‚that many may be meant by the foole multitude', which seems in point [cf. however Furness' ingenious note to this passage, Merchant of Venice, II, 9, 28, on p. 115 of his edition] and possibly also *infra* p. 118: ‚hee fell away from flesh', but see the note to this line. — This hypothesis would however be very unlikely, considering that the construction is already so old. Mätzner gives instances of Orm and Layamon and refers to analogous constructions in Old English and Gothic. I subjoin some additional instances: For of councell I must desyre the, Everyman l. 400; I must you praye of councell, *ib.* l. 490; I pray you.... of your supportacyon, Mankynd, ed. Manly, II l. 205; I shall requyre the of further acqueyntance; Play of the wether, ed. Brandl, l. 227; I have... tentreacte youe of gentle sufferauunce. Respublica ed. Brandl, l. 3 (prol.) See also *infra* p. 104; when a poore weary man desireth thee'; p. 124: desiring both you and them... that you would' etc. and the passive construction on p. 74: ‚how Doctor Faustus was desired by certaine friends of his to knowe the meaning'. But for the explanation suggested by the parallelism indicated, this might be taken to mean that Dr. Faustus ought to know something. The context clearly shows of course that it is the students that wish to know something of Dr. Faustus. We also find: his spirit required him of three daies respite' lower down p. 21, and: ‚thou shouldst not have desired me of such matters' on p. 23. In all these cases, Thoms' text reads (desiring) of him; (required) of him; (desired) of me (p.p. 183, 187, 189 respectively). The modern construction occurs also in our text *e. g.* p. 23: ‚this question that thou demandest of me'.

PHLEGETON' (p. 20).

The error of the German Author, who takes Phlegeton as

[1]) See also the end of this note.

the name of the devils (In dem regieren die Teuffel, Phlegeton genannt, Spies p. 29) is too much for our Englishman but he falls into another by making Phlegeton into that of a King.

‚and very pensiuely (saying nothing) vnto his Spirit, hee went' (p. 22).

There is hardly any doubt that we must read: (saying nothing vnto his Spirit).

‚why then thou didst also beguile me' (p. 24.)

Spies (p. 32) has: So hast du mich auch Besessen? *i. e.* So thou hast possessed me too?

‚the first MOBILE'

As Thoms' text reads here (p. 193:) ‚the first model', I may be pardoned for not having called attention, when printing my Faustus-notes, to the present passage in connection with l. 796 of the B-text. The Primum mobile, also called first movable — see the N.E.D. in F. p. 252. a. — is in the Ptolemaic system an imaginary sphere, the tenth *i. e.* the highest. Hence the ‚Angels of the first MOBILE' may mean nothing else but those farthest away from the earth'.

‚but alwayes bringest me a new' (p. 31).

A new-what? Must we supply suite from l. 3 or take bring in the sense of to report, to bring word (see the N.E.D. in v. 3. b.) and anew = the adverb?

‚Mathematicks' (p. 32).

The only reference I have to this word in the sense of mathematician(s). Elsewhere in our text the latter form is used exclusively.

‚course and recourse of ♄ ♃ ♂ ☉ ♀ ☿ and ☾' (p. 34).

These are of course the symbols of the five primary planets formerly known and of the Sun and Moon in the following order: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. Thoms' text simply substitutes ‚the planets'. These same names are given in the German original as ‚die sieben Planeten'. (Spies p. 44).

‚the fift essence'

This passage is not in the German original. This fifth

element, ether, was added by the Pythagoreans to the four mentioned; it is not clear what P. F. means by saying that Faustus once had it when at liberty. In Thoms' text it is changed to: filthy essence!

‚and the Lady Saturnia ♓ in Occulto' etc. (p. 35.)

♓ is the symbol of the ‚Pisces' of the Zodiac. But this does not help me to understand the passage.

‚the fodines of precious stones' (p. 36).

No such English word as fodines is recorded in any dictionary, not even in the N.E.D. And as the word is in black letter in our text, it was not considered a foreigner. So we must conclude, as Mr. Henry Bradley himself led me to think, that this is the only known instance of a ‚new' English word = Latin *fodina*. Middle-French knows not only the form fodine (Godefroy has two references), but also: fouine, fouyne and fouwienne in the slightly different sense of: action de creuser, fouille, fossé. The form fouyne is found as late as 1622.

‚his tayle was like a Cowe' (p. 38).

Even without the aid of the German text — hatt einen Kühschwantz, Spies p. 47 — we see at once that we should now express what our Englishman meant, in a slightly different form: his tail was like a Cowe's. This is already the reading of Thoms' text (if it be not a silent correction!). But we must be careful not to ‚correct' our text thus. It is most likely a somewhat illogical construction, to be put down to our author. See possibly *infra* p. 102: her neck as white as the Swanne; and also Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair (I, 1. 23): ‚And her fine high shooes like the Spanish Lady!' On p. 39 we find it said of another devil that he had ‚a tayle like a slowe-worme'. We shall find this to be a case in point on comparing it to the German (Spies p. 47): der schwantz hatt ein Farb wie die Blindschleichen', but with this slight difference that here — as well as again below in the description following — the word tail is in the objective case which allows of two different ways of filling up the ellipsis: he had a tayle like a slowe-worme's or: he had a tayle like a slowe-worme (has one).

‚a tayle like a slowe-worme' (p. 39).

See the preceding note. The German Blindschleiche, quoted there, bears out, if necessary, the correctness of this reading (slow-worm: anguis fragilis or Blindworm) as against the glow-worm of Thoms' text.

‚Chamagosta'

Whence did P. F. draw this substitution for the Sathanas of his original? Thoms has Cannagosta.

‚Dythycan . . . Brachus'

Spies has Dythicanus and Drachus, the Wolfenbüttel text however: Dithyrambus and Dracus respectively.

‚a short theefe'

cf. Shallow addressing the page as: my little tiny thief. B Henry IV, act. V, 3, 60.

‚in continent' (p. 41).

Of course incontinent is meant, but as it is possibly no misprint, I had to leave it in the text.

‚Faustus felt . . . . a small mist' (p. 44).

To feel mist, when head over ears in the water, is a peculiar thing to experience. Let it be observed that Dr. Faustus is not conjuring here, but is being ‚blinded' *i. e.* conjured with. The solution of the difficulty is perhaps to be found in an at random translation, — Spies and the Wolfenbüttel text having: grosse Hitz.

‚IOUE VICTORI' (p. 46).

A mistake or a misprint for Io(h)ne Victori. Both Spies and the Wolfenbüttel text have: Ionae Victori. Thoms' text has: Loue.

‚I am seene'

See a note *supra* p. 6.

‚Tartascelesia' (p. 48).

A contamination, probably a typographical one, of Tartary and Silesia. When we see that Spies in the corresponding passage (p. 55) mentions Tartarey and instead of Schlesien: Sicilia, but that Thoms has Tartary, Silesia (p. 217) and that two pages further (p. 57, chap. 26) he has the name Schlesien, we can have no difficulty in understanding

how this state of affairs has come about: The original English text of 1589 (See my Faustus-Notes p. 143) had Tartary, Silesia as the result of a slip for Sicilia which we should expect as a rendering of the German Sicilia. The printer of the 1592 ed. twisted this into the geographical monstrum: Tartascelesia, whereas the text used by Thoms kept the right reading. This suggests the interesting circumstance that Thoms' text was not copied from the 1592 one or an equally corrupt text, but from an older, possibly the oldest text. See the end of my Introduction.

,the King of Alchar, and the great Cham'

No equivalent in the German text. Understand: before us lie the kingdoms of the king of Alchar and of the Great Cham. On Alchar, see *infra* (note to p. 70).

,Weim in Austria' (p. 49).

No equivalent in the German texts. Considering Faustus' geographical summersaults, there can be no doubt that Vienna is meant, — and Weim a misprint for Wien?

,it is the heauens that moue his course' etc. (p. 50).

This bit of Copernican lore, in flagrant contradiction with the Ptolemaic spirit that pervades the whole Faustbuch, is an addition by the English translator.

,Yea Christian Reader'

By this address to the Christian Reader — in which we admire the delicacy with which the English translator improves upon his ,rude German Author' — Mr. P. F. shows, that he forgets altogether he is supposed to be addressing Dr. Victori.

,and their great ☉ *and* little light ☽ in it:' (p. 51).

The two symbols stand of course for the sun and the moon. I must remark here that the second symbol has a slight horizontal stroke through it that my printers could not reproduce. I do not know whether there is any special significance in this, such as an indication of first or last quarter. The words preceding: little light, might be thought to point to this. Thoms' text has simply: and the (*sic*) great and little light in it.

‚thengs' (p. 52).

I suspect this to be a misprint for things. The only other case of an *e* for a more original *i* I have been able to find is cheualrye in Henry IV; cf. Lummert, Die Orthografie d. 1. Folio, 1883 p. 18 and this is hardly an analogue.

‚many a land *and* Prouince; as' etc. (p. 53).

Some information concerning a few geographical names on this page may not be deemed out of place and will be supplied even at the risk of carrying philological coals to my Readers' New-Castle. MISSENE = Meissen; cf. Spies p. 57: Meissen. SHAWBLANDT is a misprint or a mistake for S(c)hwablandt *i. e.* the Schwabenlandt of Spies. CATHAI is a mediaeval name for China. GINNIE may be either the African Guinea, which had of course been known for a couple of centuries or new Guinea, which had been first visited about 1526, whereas the name had been bestowed on it as recently as 1545 (Brockhaus, Conversationslexicon[14], in v. Neuguinea.) TERRA INCOGNITA [1]), the name of America, until the new name, proposed by Waltseemüller (Hylacomylus) in 1507, had found more general acceptance. As this appears to have been the case especially since the publication of Apian's map in 1520, we see that the old name lingered on a long time after. But the possibility is not excluded that P. F. did not know himself what was meant by this ‚Terra incognita', so that he may have used the word as a historical term. NOVA HISPANIOLA is Mexico (Hispaniola would be San Domingo). TERZERA and S. MICHAELS are two of the Azores. MEDERI is most likely Madeira. TENORRIFOCIE may be meant for, or a corruption of, Teneriffe, one of the Canaries. See p. 72 where Treno Riefe may be the same. The MAYNE LAND seems to indicate a special countrey like Terra Incognita. But I do not know which. The Bishoprick of BREAME would seem to be Bremen, notwithstanding the fact that it had long since ceased to be a Bishopric. It had been Lutherian from about 1522, then Melanchtonian and finally Calvinistic. But our

[1]) Some of these particulars I thankfully acknowledge to have learnt from Prof. A. De Ceuleneer of this University.

friend P. F. is not afraid of an anachronism, *teste* his introducing Pannonia in this passage. Further corruptions of some names mentioned will be found in Thoms' text, and I must add that, with the exception of Missene and Shawblandt, no equivalents of these names are found in Spies.

‚Treir, for that, etc.

Thoms has Trent, (p. 222) See on this name my Faustus Notes p. 134 seqq. The words: for that he chiefly desired to see this towne, yield a characteristic specimen of Mr. P. F.'s art of translation, when compared to the German text: dann jm diese Statt erstlich einfiel zusehen, weil sie so altfränckisch anzusehen war. Erstlich is rendered by chiefly, einfiel finds a sort of equivalent in desired; the Englishman manages to convey the impression that, like the German writer, he gives a reason why Faustus wished to see the town but the real reason *viz.* that the town was so curiously old-fashioned, he does not give, probably because he did not understand the word altfränckisch. [1])

‚the Roode or loft' etc. (p. 55).

I must ask leave to refer my Readers to my Faustus-Notes p.p. 76 seq. where it will be found proved, I think, that l.l. 830, 831 of (the B-text of) ‚The Tragicall History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus' corresponding to the present passage, must originally have been found in the A-text too. Of a church it is said in l. 831 that it is ‚roof't aloft with curious worke in gold.' (Breymann p. 79.) I had not noticed, when preparing my ‚Notes' for the press, that the juxtaposition of these passages suggests an emendation of the English Faust book. It seems indeed more than likely that Marlowe must have read in the prose text: ‚and all the Roo*f*e or loft of the Church'. For, when we come to think of it, only a reading resembling that at present found in the B-text: roo*f*'t aloft, is admissible here. It is true that a Roofe is not, strictly speaking, the same as a loft. But it is not as synonyms that I would look upon

[1]) This interesting word occurs once more on p. 60 of Spies-Braune, again without equivalent in the English translation.

the two words. What the writer — who is here independent of his German text — must have had in his mind is this: the roof was guilded over, or it may have been the loft and not the entire roof. And this force of o r will not help us in the case of: Rood or loft, because there is nothing in the two conceptions r o o d and l o f t that makes such a partial substitution of the one for the other possible. One might also think of ‚roof'd loft', a church-gallery, covered over with a roof, but this is not a very likely reading in view of the context (double gilded over.) A last possibility would seem: Rood-loft, a loft over the centre of the Rood-screen. This reading is possible in itself, but it does not explain ‚roode or loft', the corrupted reading so well, whereas it is easy to see how ‚roof't aloft' (in Marlowe's context) could take the place of ‚roof or loft' in the prose-text.

‚VATICINIUM' (p. 56).

This amusing mistake for Vaticanum (in Spies-Wolfenbüttel) is perpetuated in Thoms' text.

‚in that Church ..... fifteen Italian miles off'

This passage is not in the German original except that, ‚die Kirchen (*sic*) Lateranensis' is mentioned with a short description. The description of Rome is therefore greatly amplified and there is much in this passage which I am unable to find any traces of in the descriptions of Rome (ancient and modern) at my disposal. What our English author can mean *e. g.*, by Charlemagne building the Campo Santo, I do not know. And the mention of ‚the' seven churches of Rome is peculiar, considering that there are about 400 of them. Probably he means the seven Christian Basilicas, for the seven names given, correspond to those of the seven Cathedral Churches, except that S. Mary Magdalen is mentioned instead of S. Croce in Gerusalemme; this may be a mistake. But the most puzzling point is the pyramid. As the description stands here, it is sheer nonsense: a p y r a m i d, of the dimensions given, l e a n i n g against a wall after having been brought over from Africa and then found e r e c t e d in some other place is hardly

imaginable. The fact that Pope Sixtus the fifth is known to have caused an obelisk to be erected in front of S. Peters, coupled with the circumstance that a pyramid existed in Rome — as it does now — which had been built in Rome itself (the so-called Cestius-pyramid) suggests a confusion in the writer's mind of which the passage as it stands is the result. It is true that, even thus, much remains to be accounted for. The obelisk in question which used to be near the Sacristy of S. Peters — which is not necessarily the same as ‚leaning against the Church wall' — and which was erected in (what may very well be called S. Peters Churchyard *i. e.* in) the Piazza di San Pietro, had not been brought across by Julius Caesar but by Caligula (A. D. 39) and I do not know of any crucifix, nor of any brazen lions on the Pyramid of Cestius. But when confusion has once been found to exist, it seems legitimate to assume some more of it, when no other explanation can be found. For a description of the obelisk, I refer my Readers to Gsell-Fels' Rom (Meyers Reisebücher; 4th ed. 1895) col. 507 and for Cestius' Pyramid to the same work, col. 931. It is worth while remarking here, that the transfer of this pyramid took place in 1586, under the greatest difficulties. The work was begun on April 30th but it was not until September 10th that the colossal monument was lowered on to its new pedestal. The successful completion of the work seems to have been accompanied with official and popular rejoicings and it may consequently be assumed that it made some stir outside Rome too. These considerations are not, as they may seem, irrelevant to our purpose. Readers of my Introduction will know that I am working continually with an eye to such questions as to whether details added by our Englishman show him to have been an eye-witness or not. This particular point, as so many others, is negative in its result.

Marlowe copied part of this passage into his Dr. Faustus, see his ll. 859 seq. (VII, 42 seqq.) It will be seen from the preceding discussion that ‚the certain obelisk (brought over A. D. 353 by Constantius)' and that Prof. Ward reminds

us of, cannot have been the one which the author of the prose text had in view, as little as it could have been that which Marlowe was ‚thinking of'. See my Faustus-Notes p. 79.

‚proud stout' etc. (p. 57).

The anti-Romanism of the German author is surpassed by the not very delicate hitting of the Englishman. Thus, the expansion about the Nuns is not in Spies.

‚smote the Pope on the face'

I have already called attention to this passage in connection with its German original, in my Faustus-Notes (p.p. 83 seq.) Spies has (p. 59): ‚bliess D. Faustus ihm in das Angesicht' and , the English for *blasen* being to blow, our friend P. F. either by way of a joke or through ignorance took to blow in the sense of to smite and accordingly used this word'. It would now appear to me to be an ignorant translation rather than a joke. If it were a joke, there would be no imaginable reason for the Englishman to add ‚could suffer it no longer' etc., which seems only explainable on the supposition of the translator wishing to account for this curious behaviour, as it must have seemed to him.

‚MONTE CAUAL' (p. 58).

In the April-number of the Modern Language Notes for 1898, I have discussed this expression and, after rejecting some suggestions and apparent possibilities, I have come to the conclusion that it merely means ‚come on', ‚cheer up' or some such expression of exhortation. In Gervase Markhams The Soldiers' Accidence (1625), we find the ‚points of war' enumerated *i. e.* the Sounds and Commands of the trumpet for the Cavalry. They are all Spanish expressions, although not purely so in form any more, and ‚Mounte Cavallo' or Mount on Horsebacke is the second of them. And this expression seems to me to fit in excellently in our context, for — to quote my paper *l.l.* — ‚for the only semasiological condition wanted to make it plausible that an expression, originally meaning ‚Mount on horseback' should extend its sense into a general exhortative such as in our text, is that it should be generally known and under-

stood. And this condition, if we could for a moment doubt it, is fulfilled, for ‚Mounte Cavallo' is one of those six ‚Points of War' which, according to Markham, are ‚most necessary for the Soldiers' knowledge; that is, they belonged to the Rudiments of their Art'.

I can now add a reference to two passages which, from different points of view are interesting in this connection. The first is from Ben Jonson's New Inn. III, 1, 1 seqq. Col. Tipto says to Fly: I like the plot of your militia well. It is a fine militia, and well ordered, and the division's neat! 't will be desired Only, the expressions were a little more Spanish; For there's the best militia of the world, *etc.*, which passage, however jocosely meant — see the context — shows, once more, that we may *à priori* expect a Spanish expression in this connection. The second is from Chettle, Haughton and Dekker's Patient Grissill. See Hubsche's edition (Erlangen, 1893) p. 66 l.l. 2113 seqq. We fall into the midst of a quibbling conversational flirtation between the fair Julia and some of her admirers. Farnese, one of them, says to her „. . . . . yet for a need we could turne you into an armourie: as for example, your lips (let me see), no point of war for your lips? can I put them to no use but kissing? oh yes, if you change (Read: charge?) them to shoote out unkinde language to vs that stand at your mercie, they are two culuerins to destroy vs.' From this extract too, it becomes clear that it was popularly known what the points of war were; as a matter of fact, the semasiology of ‚points of war' here, is analogous to that, vindicated for ‚monte caval', both having extended their meaning greatly, owing no doubt, to their being evidently generally known and used.

‚Campa de Fiore'

This is of course the Campo de' Fiori, at present a fruit-market; Gsell Fells, col. 832. Whether the corrupt Italian is due to the author or to the printers is of course impossible to determine.

‚Florence' (p. 59)

The confusion in the description of Florence is so much ‚worse confounded' than in the German text, — and, I may

add, so much greater there, than in the original German text, about which see lower down — that I must append a somewhat long note here.

The title-page of our text indicates already that P. F. translated it from the German and adds that ‚in conuenient places imperfect matter (had been) amended: according to the true Copie printed *at* Franckfort' and I have concluded from this (see my Faustus-Notes, p. 59 *note*) that ‚there could be no doubt about the printed Spies being the original of Mr. P. F.'s translation'. This conclusion, it will be seen, remains intact but the words quoted, when taken by themselves, might be construed to mean that only this edition ‚Newly imprinted' (*i. e.* not the *editio princeps*) had been ‚amended' in accordance with Spies' Franckfort edition and that consequently the now non-extant *editio princeps* had been translated from some other text. We know of only one other text *viz.* the Wolfenbüttel one and we need not unnecessarily complicate matters by vaguely taking into consideration any other, merely hypothetical, text. On the page quoted of my Faustus-Notes, indications will be found to the effect that this supposition, already very unlikely in itself, does not hit the truth. And throughout the body of these Notes, my Reader will find some more, — especially lower down in this very discussion, — each and all tending to prove that P. F. followed the Spies-text and not the Wolfenbüttel one. These two text differ considerably however and it is an interesting fact, which, to my knowledge, has not yet been pointed out, that the Wolfenbüttel text represents, on the whole, an older stage than Spies. This latter point too, which I had, anticipatingly to remind my readers of, will presently be taken up again.

Mr. P. F.'s description of Florence may conveniently be divided into seven points for the purpose of discovering the source of the confusion in his statements: I. The pleasant walke of Merchants; II, the goodly vaults of the citie, *etc.*; III, the houses are built outwardly *etc.*; IV, the sumptuous Church in the Dukes Castle called Nostra Donna, *etc.*; V, in which .... a Marble doore *etc.*; VI, the gate of the Castle

was Bell mettall; VII, the Holy Patriarkes.... and diuers other histories out of the olde and new Testament.

I must momentarily leave the three first points out of discussion and begin with the fourth. The corresponding passage in Spies reads: desz schönen gezierten Baumgarten zu S. Maria. Der Kirchen, so allda im Schlosz ligt, mit schönen köstlichen Vmbgängen bekleidet'. (p. 60). This description answers as little to reality as the English text, for there is no such thing as a church called Nostra Donna *in* a Castle and there never was any in Florence; nor was there ever any ‚Baumgarten zu S. Maria' that I know of. [1])

Already our Wolfenbüttel text brings some light. We read there of the ‚kunstliche(n) zier von den schönen schwibogen oder Gewelb zu S. Maria, der schönen, gezierten Paumgarten, die Kirch zu S. Florenz (*sic*), so im Fluss ligt, mit schönen, künstlichen, Ewigen Vmbgängen belaittet', and we see 1° that the important words: zu S. Maria have changed places, referring now to the ‚Schwibogen' of the Cathedral, instead of to the ‚Baumgarten'; 2° that the ‚Schloss' *i. e.* duke's Castle has disappeared, making place for the ‚Fluss' and 3° that sumptuous may correspond to the ‚schön, köstlich' of Spies. But even this description, though more exact than that in Spies, is not quite accurate. When we turn to the source of the Volksbuch, *viz.* Schedel's Chronic of 1493, — which, thanks to Milchsack's important discoveries, we have now been led and enabled to do — (cf Milchsack p. xxxii) we find him mention ‚ein berümbte thumbkirch. mit eim wunderwirdigen schwinbogen (*sic*) oder gewelb gezieret. vnd in der ere der.... Marie geweyhet.... vnd.... ein pawmgart.... vber sand Lorentzen kirchen an dem gestadt des fluss mit ewigem vmbgang gelaytet.' We observe here the explanation of the enigmatical ‚S. Florenz' of the Wolfenbüttel text and find the readings

[1]) Having not yet had the good fortune to visit the city of the Medici, I had to go by the description of Florence in various books. I have used especially Gsell-Fell's Ober-Italien in Meyer's Reisebücher, which seem to me to give sufficient historical information of which I stood of course most in need.

Fluss and belaittet confirmed as against the Schloss and bekleidet of Spies. The fifth point ‚in which he saw many monuments, as a Marble doore most huge to looke vpon' is undoubtedly the rendering of Spies' ‚auch einen gantz auffgerichten Marmelsteinen Thurn', possibly influenced by what follows: ‚das Thor wodurch man gehet, mit Glocken oder Ertzspeiss gemacht', although this corresponds more immediately to P. F.'s sixth point: ‚the gate of the Castle was Bell metall'. The Wolfenbüttel text presents no important *varia lectio* except that the first part reads: mit einem gantz Marmolsteinen Thurn aufgericht'. In order to judge of the inaccuracy of these descriptions, we must remember that ‚which' of the fifth point refers to the Lady's church *i. e.* the dome of Florence and that the description given is followed by the seventh point according to which it is the gate of the Castle (of) Bell Metall ‚wherein are grauen the holy Patriarkes, with Christ and his twelue Apostles, and diuers other histories out of the olde and new Testament'. It will be seen, that there is a confusion here between the *Campanile, i. e.* the marble clock-tower of the Cathedral and the famous bronze doors of the *Battisterio*, the church of the Florentine patron saint, S. John the Baptist. The reference to bas-reliefs of the old and new testament found in the English and the two German texts quoted, proves that the Campanile is meant. In none of the bronze doors are they found combined, but ‚Bell Metall' could only apply to the portals of the *Battisterio* (see Gsell-Fells col[s] 1128—1133.) Schedels Chronik once more offers the solution of the riddle. We find (Milchsack, *l.l.*) Schedel speaking of S. John the Baptist ‚in des ere ein köstlicher tempel. den sie baptisterium nennen. an eim gelegnern ende der statt geweyhet ist. daran die thore von fester glockenspeiss oder ertze gemacht. vnnd die historien', *etc.* So the compiler of the German Volksbuch stands convicted of having most unscrupulously abridged his source without the slightest regard to context. At the same time it will be noticed that Schedel's text is not free from inaccuracies either. For the ‚historien des neven vnd

alten testaments' are not found together in any of the three bronze doors of the *Battisterio*, as I remarked before, but only on the *Campanile*. Schedel has probably abridged an other source again! I may remark incidentally here, that our friend P. F. can as little have been at Florence as the compiler of the German text, or he would not have allowed this nonsense to stand. At least I do not suppose that any one will think this hypothetical conclusion too bold. See the Introduction.

There remains the three first points. I do not know anything about the ‚pleasant walke of Merchants', unless the Mercato Vecchio be meant and, as to the two remaining statements, I can be almost as brief. I suggest that the whole passage about the Vaults, as applied to the houses and the city is a thoughtless expansion and transfer from the ‚Schwibbogen' which undoubtedly refers to Brunellesco's cupola of the Cathedral.

A comparison of the various texts quoted here, will already have shown my readers, that the Fluss of the Wolfenbüttel text as being more in accordance with Schedel and possibly with reality, than the Schloss of Spies, points to the Wolfenbüttel text being the older of the two. As it would however be venturous to base such an assertion on one point only, I investigated the relation of these three texts for the greater part of this chapter. It was not necessary to do more — this hors d'oeuvre takes up already more than enough space, as it is — as this point is but of secondary importance to our immediate purpose. I must of course give all the variae lectiones in the passage referred to.

Spies, p.p. 57 seqq.	Wolfenbüttel, p.p. 56 seqq.	Schedel, *apud* Milchsack, p.p. XXVI seqq.
1. im 16-jar ein Reysz	1. ein Sechsjärige Raisz	
2. Dromedari	2. Parder oder Drometarj	

Spies.	Wolfenbüttel.	Schedel.
3. Behem	3. Beheim, Mehrerlandt	
4. Portugall	4. *deest.*	
5. name er ein Widerfuhr	5. nimmt ers jm wieder für	
6. Popo	6. Popion	6. Popion[is]
7. ausz vnglaublichen grossen steinen.	7. auss vnglaublicher gröss der stain.	7. auss vnglewplicher grösse der stein
8. Griechischen Wein (p. 58)	8. Vinum Graecum	8. Kriechyschen wein
9. Bald fällt jm Venedig ein	9. Bald felt jm Venedig ein, wendt sich dahin	
10. zur Menschlichen Vnterhaltung	10. zu der Menschlichen aufenthalttung	10. zu menschlicher enthaltung
11. ein Vberflusz.	11. ein vberflüssige. notturft	11. noturftiger ding ein überflüssigkeit
12. dreyfächtigen Mawer	12. Dreyfelttigen Vmbkreysz . vnnd Mauren	12. trifeltigem Vmbkrais vnd Mawr
13. in gantz Italia	13. in Welschlandt	13. in welschen landen
14. Heylthumbs (p. 59.)	14. Heyligthumb	14. Heilig(t)hums
15. alles Gottloses Wesen	15. alle schöne Gottseligkeitten	
16. *deest.*	16. Hört nun . . — geessen oder getrunnckhen (two sentences)	
17. beredet	17. saget	
18. lassen halten (p. 60)	18. haben	
19. condemniert	19. appelliert	

Spies.	Wolfenbüttel.	Schedel.
20. ein gut fegen	20. ein guetten Segen	
21. anzeigung der hitze	21. entzinding der hytz	21. entzündung der hytz
22. 7 gar schöne See, auch hat er da viel ander schöne Flüsz vnd Wasser gezehlet	22. Sibenzehn gar schöne See vnnd So wasser fluss gezelt	22. xvij gar schöne see. vnd Lx wasserflüss
23. Seul, mit schönen gehawen Bildern	23. Saul Sechtzig Völckher gehawen	23. Lx. völcker an einer seüln
24. Teufel (zu S. Vrsula) (p. 61)	24. Tempel (zu S. Vrsula.)	
25. der grosz Keyser Carolus	25. Kayser Carolus Magnus	25. des groszen kayser Karls
26. vnd geordnet	26. *deest*	26. der selb hat geordnet
27. mit zigelsteinen	27. Ziegelstainen	27. mit zygelstainin.
28. Es ist . . Land	28. hat . . . Lanndt	28. hat ... Feldung
29. war Würtzburg (p. 62)	29. wardt Wirtzburg	
30. vnd . . . Fruchtbar	30. ist . . . Fruchtbar	
31. Johanser (Orden)	31. *deest.*	31. sant johansen
32. carthäuser	32. Chorherrisch	32. Carthewszer
33.	33. Funf Pfarren	33. funff pfarr
34. Thor	34. Thurn.	34. thurn
35. von Nero	35. nach Nero	35. von Nero
36. desz Kaysers Zeichen	36. das Zaichen	36. der keyserlichen zaichen.
37. desz grossen Keysers Caroli	37. des Kaysers Caroli Magni	37. des groszen keyser Karls.
38. 10 Apotecken.	38. Sechzehen Apoteckhen.	

This list may be considered fairly representative and typical. I have chosen this passage, because here I could hope to find a criterion in many passages of Schedels Chronik in order to decide as to the relative value of the two Faust texts. In estimating this value, we must leave nos. 2, 3, 4, 9 out of consideration, as they do not prove anything. Some (15, 16, 17, 18 and 38) are doubtful [1]), but, whereas we find nine [2]) where the reading of Spies seems the more original one, seventeen [3]) speak in favour of the Wolfenbüttel text. And it will be noticed, that the nine cases where Spies' text seems the better one, contain, a goodly number where chance may have had some play. The important conclusion to be drawn from this table is that not only does one text represent an older stage (Wolfenbüttel) than the other one (Spies) but that at least one [4]) earlier text must have existed from which both copied.

‚Sena .... Hospital of Santa Maria formosa'

P. F. added the whole of this passage about Sena, with which Siena is undoubtedly meant. Thoms has Senia which points to Siena being the actual reading of our lost text of 1588. The Hospital of Santa Maria formosa can hardly be anything else than the Spedale di S. Maria della Scala opposite the Dome. The rest of the description I am unable to verify.

[1]) Doubful are, at any rate nos 26, 27 and 31 and in the eyes of many readers probably some other cases.

[2]) Nos 1, 8, 19, 25 and 37, 29, 32, 35, and 36. That ‚ein Sechsjärige Raysz' of no. 1 in Wolfenbüttel cannot possibly be the right reading results from the fact that we read in both texts that the journey lasted 25 days.

[3]) Nos 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 30, 33, and 34, one with more force than an other of course and especially in their aggregate value. Only no. 22 seems to call for a word of comment. Milchsack prints the passage from the Wolfenbüttel Ms. as follows: ‚Sibenzehen gar schöne See vnnd So [hat er da viel ander schöne] wasser fluss gezelt' *i. e.* he adds some words evidently from the Spies text. Had he seen the importance of the Schedel text for criticism, he would undoubtedly have turned to it here. I submit that So is a mistake for the 60 of the original German text and that the man who is responsible for the text which Spies printed, finding So in an intermediate text, ‚emended' it, — like Milchsack did.

[4]) See the last sentence (‚intermediate text') of the preceding note.

‚BETHELEM' (p. 60).

A mistake or a misprint — the former possibility is not entirely excluded — for Bethlehem or Bethleem. In the ed. 1592, BETHE - is on one line and LEM on the next.

‚GIBLATERRA'

The modern form Gibraltar is derived, I understand (see *e. g.* the Enc. Dict.) from ‚Gibel or Jabal - al Tarik = Mount Tarik, named after Tarik .... the Saracen leader, who captured it from the Christians in A. D. 711.' The form here given may represent an older form. There is no equivalent in Spies; the whole of this highfalutin passage about the voyages of the three kings is an addition by our loquacious friend P. F.

‚Church of S. VRSULA'

Although the Wolfenbüttel text has Tempel here and the Spies text by a misprint Teufel, I do not even hypothetically conclude to an imitation here by the translator of the former text. That he had the Frankfort printed text before him is so certain, that we must assume an unusual amount of lucidity on the part of P. F. who has here lost a splendid opportunity of thoughtlessly writing some more nonsense. See the beginning paragraphs of the note on Florence, *supra* p. 150.

‚CAROLUS QUARTUS'

A mistake for Carolus Magnus.

‚GEUF'

My conception of a misprint as distinguished from a mistake, is that the former excludes all doubt as to whether the writer would or would not have recognised the correct form under its momentary disguise. As the latter state of affairs can here be thought of, however remotely, I did not change Geuf into Genf in the text. For, had he recognised the town he would most likely have written Geneva. With regard to the statement that Genf is a Citie in Sauoy, lying neere Switzerland, this is at least sense, — if hardly correct, seeing that Geneva was virtually Swiss at the time. But Spies' text can again not be understood, but for the aid of the Wolfenbüttel and Schedel texts. Spies reads: ‚ist ein Statt

in Saphoy, ligt in der gegend desz Schweitzerlands' (p. 61); Wolfenbüttel: ist ain Statt der Saffoyer, ligt in Gegnen des Schweitzerlandt, which stands closer to Schedels text: ‚die ... Statt der Sophoyer ... dise statt ist der Schweitzer gegenten nahennd gelegen' ... (Milchsack p. XXXIV.)

‚STRASBURG ... the Minister ... Dukes of SLESIA' (p. 61).

I cannot give the source of P. F.'s amplifications. The description of the Minister (*i. e.* of course the Minster) is exact, so far as it goes. I would call attention here to the mention of the Dukes of Slesia, for it may lead to the discovery of the wanting source.

‚BASILE .... BASILISCUS'

This derivation is found in the three German texts Schedel, Wolfenbüttel and Spies, but the translator is responsible for the romantic details as to the passing of the dragon.

‚COSTUITZ in SWEITZ .... the black Sea' (p. 62).

Of course Costnitz (*i. e.* Constantz) is meant. The incorrect statement that it is situated in Switzerland is found in the English text only. How our translator got at the Black Sea for the Bodensee I am unable to understand. Considering that P. F. presents us with the rich joke about Costnitz meaning *Cost* (Thoms adds: *me*) *nothing*, instead of the correct derivation given by Spies (as well as by the latter's two predecessors) it will be thought hardly conceivable that he could have written Costuitz for then he might be supposed to have translated ‚Cost a joke' and to have changed his amusing little story accordingly. But this, I must add, would presuppose that he invented this story *i. e.* that he understood German enough to do so, which is very problematical. (See the Introduction.) Hence it is impossible to be quite certain as to whether Costuitz constitutes a mistake or a misprint.

‚Wartzburg'

Würtzburg is meant. Wartzburg may be a misprint or a blunder. The translator may have had such a form as Wartburg in his mind, which an antipapist such as P. F. had certainly heard of.

,an Alter, where are ingrauen all the foure Elements, *etc.* (p. 63).

This is not in any of the German texts. I find nothing about this Altar.

,the speare that thrust our Saviour into the side'

The obvious correction: ,the spear that Longinus thrust our Saviour into the side' is borne out by the German text: ,So Longinus Christo in die Seyten gestochen'. For ,the', instead of ,his' sides, as we should write now, see Franz, Shakespeare Grammatik I § 117. It is not a Germanism.

,thirteene common hothouses'

This = the ,13 gemeiner Badstuben' of the original. As hothouse is found in the 16th century both in the sense of brothel and of hot baths we can only get at the meaning by conjecture. Considering that the German Badstube is only used in its literal sense, we may conclude that, in all likelihood, hothouse is = hot baths here, especially as the context would hardly admit of the other notion.

,*132* tall ships'

The 132 tall ships will have caused some surprise at Nuremberg; they will undoubtedly have to disappear. Spies has: 132 Hauptmannschaft, which does but increase our astonishment, for how could P. F. equate these two notions? I suspect that tall ships is a corruption of some word in – ship, corresponding to (Hauptmann)schaft, meaning capitanea (see Grimm *in v.*) centurio, dominatio or some such thing. But which? Mastership, lordship, earlship, princeship? And of none of these, the corruption into tall ships would be easy to understand.

,VINDELICA .... ZIZARIA, the yron bridge .... lastly .... AUGUSTA' (p. 64).

It is of course the Augusta Vindelicorum that is meant. Zizaria, the yron bridge will become clearer on a comparison of Spies and the older texts. According to these it was first called Vindelica, ,darnach Zizaria, dann Eysenburg'. Eysenburg [1]) *i. e.* the ,iron castle', a supposed name of Augs-

[1]) Schedel has Eysenberg *i. e.* mountain containing iron, which is probably the better reading.

burg, where P. F. wrongly takes *-burg* to mean bridge. With regard to Zizaria, our ultimate source, Schedel (apud Milchsack p. XL) gives an account which is worth transcribing: ‚Nach dem nw die streypern (*sic*, *i. e.* streitbaren) ‚weyber Amazones genant Europam verfolgten. haben sie ‚vnder irer königin Marsepia die schwaben .... aus diser ‚statt bis an das gepirg zeweichen gezwungen .... Nw er‚welten sie ine die göttin Zizam. die maynen sie Cererem ‚gewesen sein. Von derselben göttin wardt die stat Zizaria ‚genambt'. For my hypothesis concerning the meaning of Zizaria, I wish to refer my Reader to the note on ZIPZAR, lower down p.p. 164, 165. It is possible that, in view of Spies' ‚dann Eysenburg', we may have to read in our text: Zizaria, the*n* yron bridge.

‚RAUENSPURG .... seuen names'

Rauenspurg is P. F.'s rendering of the German Regensburg, which he would have rendered no doubt by Rainsburg or some such form, if he had given himself the trouble to think and which he would have left untranslated if he had ever been there, for then he would have seen that it is so called after the Regen, a tributary of the Danube. The best information on the six other names will be found in what is for us the ultimate source *i. e.* Schedel's Chronicle, which has again been extracted by the compiler of the German *Volksbuch*, which has again been thoughtlessly translated by our friend P. F. Still, even so, a good deal remains mysterious. See Milchsack, p. XL. TYBERIA is said to be derived ‚von irm erpawer' Tiberius, the son of Augustus. ‚Zum andern ist sie langzeit Quadrata das ist die vierecket statt gehaiszen worden darumb das sie in vieregckete gestalt vnd mit einer mawr von groszen quadersteinen vmfangen gewesen ist ....' So here Schedel gives us the choice – *more majorum* – between two derivations. I doubt whether the town was ever built in the form of a square. For HYASPALIS we might think of Greek Ὑε, were it not for the *Volksbuch* which points to an entirely different derivation. I quote the completer text of Schedel: zum dritten Hyatospolis oder Hyaspolis von wegen der groben sprach des volcks in

der nachpawrschaft auf dem gew wesende. das seine wort mit weyttem zedentem (read: *g*edentem?) mund auszredet. Before a friend suggested to me that the author seems to have thought of latin *hiare* (the hybridity would be no objection) I had myself formed a different hypothesis. In connection with the ‚grobe sprach', I had been thinking that the German compiler had connected it with Greek ὗς, Schwein. It would certainly not be unworthy of a ‚rude German author', as P. F. characteristically calls him, to use this epithet of something he disapproves of. As regards Reginopolis, – I mention that the Romans called it *Castra Regina*. Schedel has however a different explanation. Imbripolis is the Latin rendering of Regensburg and Ratisbona the Celtic form, it would seem. In the German texts, this is connected however with *ratis*: ‚von den schiffen oder flössen die kaufmanschatzs halben'; (? der kaufmanschaft halben). S. REMEDIAN is a mistake for S. Remigian, apparently the name of the cathedral of Regensburg, burnt down before the present Dome, S. Peters, was begun in 1275. (Milchsack p. XLI and Baedeker's Süd-Deutschland. p. 218. There is some confusion again owing to thoughtless ‚contraction' of the original with regard to its position for I am not aware that it ever stood on any bridge. The German texts mention a bridge, but it is P. F. who placed the church on it.

‚nerehand threescore .... Riuers'

The word nerehand occurs once more, *infra* p. 102. It has not of course the modern signification close at hand, but the older one: almost, *c.f.* well-nigh. It occurs in this meaning *e.g.* in the Secunda Pastorum of the Towneley l.l. 2 and 10.

‚MENTZ in BAVARIA'

Of course Munic is meant, Mentz being a mistake for the form Menchen, which we find lower down, p. 83 of our text.

‚SALTZBURG .... ABEL'

I am unable to give any explanation of this mysteriously growing ‚forme' except that Thoms' text has here preserved

a better reading: *a bell*, so that the first victim of human envy disappears into nothingness. See the context. Thoms partly englishes Saltzburg into Salisburg.

‚PRAGE' (p. 65).

Here again accurate and inaccurate statements are most intricately mixed up. The former – the threefold division, the existence of a separate Jews' quarter and a famous bridge – are all found in Spies. The inaccurate statements are additions of our author with the exception of the 24 arches, which number is also found in the German texts. It is needless to enter into more details here especially as I do not know any thing about the sources of these phantastic stories; it is quite evident that P. F. must again have been copying out some book and that he had never been there.

‚BRESLAWE' (p. 66).

The whole account of this town is an addition by P. F. I know nothing about this brazen virgin.

‚CRACOUIA'

The usual mixture of *Wahrheit* and *Dichtung* will be found here: kazimierz is *e. g.* really the name of the Jews' quarter, but this part is not divided from the town by the Vistula, *etc.* The greater part of the particulars added, I cannot control but the fact quoted, suffices to establish my point that our translator did not know the place personally.

‚SANDETZ' (p. 67).

This is Sandec in Gallicia. It would be interesting to be allowed to conclude from this approximatively phonetic spelling that P. F. had heard the name pronounced, which would point to his having had an oral source for this and consequently possibly for other statements. But we must be careful, for his written source may already have had this phonetic spelling of which, surely, P. F. had not got the monopoly.

‚SHEDE, INGRATZ'

I am unable to guess which ‚lands (or) prouinces' can be meant here.

‚I will *abide* thee' (p. 69).

I must call attention here to a bad misprint (*abide* should be *aide*) and I do so most apologetically.

‚ALKAR .... or MEMPHIS' (p. 70).

There is some confusion here, the ruins of Memphis and Masz-el-kâhira (whence Alkar and Alchar, p. 48) being near enough but of course not identical. The confusion is quite as bad in Spies and in the Wolfenbüttel M.s. where we have the series: Alkair, Chayrum, Memphis and Alkeyro, Memphis, Chyrus respectively.

‚before time'

The German text has vormals so that we must perhaps read: before that time. Thoms has: before times.

‚Nilus' (p. 71).

The statement about the Nile having its ‚first head and spring' there is, of course, not true, and I gather from the information here at my disposal – see Brockhaus[14] vol. 12, p. 375, that it must then have been known not to be true. It is not in our translator's source; we read there: Da theilet sich der Fluss Nilus in Egipten. P. F.'s text reads suspiciously much like one of his random shots.

‚Sabatz'

Thoms has Sebasa. On the authority of Kühne (p. 201), this is: ‚ein von den Türken 1521 erobertes Castell'.

‚a wel called Zipzar'

The mineral springs in Hungaria are well-known and the story of iron changing into copper has some foundation in fact; in this sense that iron can really precipitate ‚copper which is easily attacked by acids, whence it is called *meretrix metallorum* by the Alchemists'. This statement I quote from the *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Chemie* by Roscoe and Schorlemmer (II, 260 seq.) where a subsequent passage gives some information, bearing directly on the question under discussion and which I therefore extract here, abridging it as much as possible. Basilius Valentinus (15th century) writes: The cement or lye at Schmölnitz in Hungaria corrodes iron into slich and when this slich is

taken out of the trough, it is excellent ♀ (= copper; the symbol is that of Venus) .... Clearly Valentinus looks upon it as an actual change of the one metal into the other and so did, not only Paracelsus (1493—1541), but also other chemical men as late as 1690, although *e. g.* Van Helmont (1577—1644) had already demonstrated that copper existed in the solution out of which it is precipitated by the action of iron.

The importance of the preceding information lies especially in the mention of Schmölnitz, for we see that already in the 16th century, such an actual change of iron into copper was really supposed to take place in Hungaria; and when then we read that Schmölnitz is a community in a Hungarian district called Zips, that it is, to quote my source [1]) in German, one of the ‚Gründe' *i. e.* ‚alte Deutsche Bergorte im Süden des Zipser komitats in Ungarn', we are at the bottom of our textual mystery. Our friend P. F. must have once more misunderstood his source and that immediate or indirect source must have been a German book, for only the German form of the adjective Zipser explains our Zipzar. And it is not impossible that Zizaria as a name = Eysenburg (see *ante* p. 161) should be connected although the absence of documents forbids me to give any support to this ‚airy' hypothesis.

‚OFEN, but in the HUNGARIAN speech it is START'

Ofen is of course in the ‚Hungarian speech' called Buda. The form Start must have puzzled many a student of our text as well as of Spies where we find the same name (Wolfenbüttel has: Rart) but I find no attempt at explanation in Kühne. It is very simple when once we know it. In Schedel's cronicle (see Milchsack, p. XLVII) we find the solution: Aber buda hiesz dise start (*sic*) nach seinem namen budam. An extraordinary amount of obtuseness has led the compiler of the German Volksbuch to turn this into: Die statt nennen die Vngern Start.

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[1]) Brockhaus' Conversationslexion 14 *in v. v.* Schmölnitz and Gründe.

‚LIPTZIG .... great vessell'

I do not know which vessel our author is thinking of. The date does not of course allow us to think of that which is now in Auerbachs Keller. Knowing that P. F. is continually muddling up matters, I at first thought it just possible that he was mixing up with the Heidelberger Fass, but it appears that the first one of its kind was built only in 1591. We are therefore led back to the famous spot which is now knitted up with the Faust-Legend. The legend of Faust's ride on a vessel may have been known previously [1]) to the year 1590, when it is found in print in the Erfurt-additions although I must grant that it would be strange to find this referred to in the English Historie — and that without special mention of Faustus' feat — and not in the German *Volksbuch*.

‚ERFORT in DURINGEN, where he visited the FRESKOLD'

I am completely in the dark as to what is meant by Freskold. It looks like a misprint for frescoes but the only

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[1]) Faustus' conjuring tricks before the students at Erfurt (also mentioned in these Erfurt additions) were *e. g.* known as early as 1576. See the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, N. F. I (1897) p. 326. And if Szamatólski's hypothesis concerning the source of these Erfurt additions may be definitely accepted -- and I do not know of any vital objection, formulated or to be formulated against it — the contents of the Erfurt-chapters was taken from a chronicle by Wambach, anterior to 1556. See *Euphorion* vol. II p.p. 51 seqq.

On the other hand, I must mention another possibility, for the sake of completeness. Considering that our text is of 1592 and that the ‚vessell' is mentioned in the Erfurt additions of 1590 the passage under consideration may be an addition of the 1592 ed., — as it might be, for the matter of that, on the supposition of the Heidelberg reminiscences, alluded to above. But this is very unlikely on the face of it and it becomes doubly so, when we remember that the 1592 ed. seems a page for page reprint of the earlier one. See the Introduction p. XV.

I may add here that this chronicle by Wambach may have been the one I was looking for when I wrote the note to l. 645 of Marlowe's Faustus (F. N. p. 62). But how did Marlowe get to know of it? If we must assume an independent source here for Marlowe, this would constitute a very welcome additional hint that the contents of Wambach's chronicle had become known in England in 1588, the date of our prose text. Q.E.D.

frescoes I know of in Erfurt, are the modern ones in the town-hall. Can there be a confusion here between frescoes and some of the ancient paintings *e. g.* those in the old Dominican church of which I read that it contains ‚altdeutsche Gemälde im Chor'?

‚TRENO RIEFE' (p. 72)

Probably another corruption of Teneriffe, see above p. 145.

‚the tree that bringeth forth fruite' *etc.*

This story of the Barnacle Goose has been sufficiently thrashed out by Max Müller in his Lectures on the science of Language vol. II p.p. 583—604. Mandeville has a reference to these *Bernakes* (see Morris and Skeat's Specimens of Early English, II p. 170 seq.) to which Dr. M. Basse called my attention. The solitary Dutch reference I have for it, may find a place here: soo namen wy den loeff naar Irlandt, daer wy met groote verwonderinghe saghen, hoe den seltsamen voghel Barnacus daer uytten abeel in groeyende, van de welcke wy oock eenen onvolwassenen, tot een waerteecken mede droeghen. (1583). *Vad. Museum* III, 379.

‚a . . . strike of fire' (p. 73).

No equivalent in Spies. Thoms' text reads streak (p. 243), which we must be careful not to substitute too quickly for strike. In itself, either reading is irreproachable – for strike, *c.f.* strike of day – and as Thoms' text may represent the lost original as wel as our 1592 edition, it would seem as if we had nothing to go by. For all that, I venture to think that there is something to be said in favour of strike. It is more likely that this somewhat out of the way expression should have been ‚corrected' into streak than *vice versa*. ‚A streame of fire' lower down, p. 77 is a rendering of Spies' Feuerstrom.

‚the Angell Michael'

Spies has: der Engel Cherubin, with which Uriel is probably meant. See the N.E.D. *in voce* cherub *sub* 1. *c.*

‚was desired . . . . to knowe'

See my note to ‚desiring him of pardon' on p. 17; *supra* p. 139.

‚S. Eizleben'

It will be difficult to understand this seeming sanctification of a town except on the supposition that it is a misprint for Eiszleben.

‚aforewarning' (p. 77)

This, in one word, may of course be a misprint for a forewarning, which occurs *e. g.* on p. 74 of our text. But on comparing the N.E.D. vol I p. 165, it will be seen that a *sb.* aforewarning, although not actually found, is not unimaginable. Hence it is more than likely that we have a unicum here.

‚a lanterne' (p. 79).

Thoms' reading pattern is certainly wrong, considering that Spies has *Lucern.* At the time of writing my Faustus-Notes I had not seen the interest of this passage in connection with the discussion of Marlowe's source, or I should have treated of this word on p. 138 (ib.) in connection with l.l. 1061 seqq. of Marlowe's play: Chiefe spectacle of the worldes preeminence, The bright shining of whose glorious actes Lightens the world with his reflecting beames. This corresponds of course to the Lucern-passage in Spies and any one having only Thoms' pattern to go by would necessarily look upon this as ‚one more' argument in favour of the theory, now definitely abandoned I may hope, of Marlowe's working on the G.F.B. The reading lantern does of course away with the support, that hypothesis might have seemed to derive from this passage.

‚mention'

See *ante* p. 139, my note to ‚if he should motion' on p. 16.

‚such spirits as haue seen Alexander and his Paramour aliue' (p. 80).

This is not quite so clear as the German: ‚die vhralte Geister, welche Alexandrum vnd sein Gemahlin gesehen' and I seem to see a reflexion of this vagueness in Marlowe's l. 1084: But such spirits as can liuely resemble *Alexander* and his Paramour', which is at any rate not the same as what Marlowe found in his source.

‚yet upon this condition *vnto* you .... nor speake *that* them'

My readers who may not have taken the unfortunately necessary precaution to consult that Lloyds of the modern Editor: the list of Errata, will have been puzzled by this phrase. After correction, the printers erroneously changed the order of words: *vnto* and *that* should change places.

‚blacke hayre' etc.

The slipshod English of this passage reads suspiciously much like a too literal rendering of the German genetives: rohten oder gleich falben [1]) vnd dicken Barts, roht Backen, vnd eines strengen Angesichts.

‚although it was done to a little disgrace of the Gentleman' (p. 82).

Thoms' reading runs: ‚though it was all done to no little disgrace'; Spies': ob nun wol diese Abenthewer jm zum spott gereicht (p. 76). The Wolfenbüttel text has no equivalent. The question as to whether horns were considered ‚a little disgrace' or ‚no little' *i. e.* a great disgrace in the 16th century, will probably have to be decided in the former sense, if we have to come to a decision at all. This and the circumstance that the ed. 1592 stands at any rate closer to the oldest text than Thoms', would already speak in favour of our reading. Moreover, it cannot be denied that, if there is any difference at all between the two readings as applied to the context, that of the ed. 1592 would again seem to bear the palm. For a little disgrace is more in keeping with the state of affairs in the Historie where Faustus is the first offender. No little disgrace smacks of the altered circumstances in Marlowe's play where the Knight first mocks Faustus and is then attacked in his turn. It is very remotely possible that Thoms' reading reflects the play here.

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[1]) Thus I have cut up the gleichfalben of Spies, in accordance with the Wolfenbüttel text, which is altogether slightly different here.

‚al the courtiers laugh'

Thoms reads laughed. This is a possible reading, but I think that laugh as infinitive, however *embrouillée* the text would then seem, must be looked upon as the better reading, for it is hardly imaginable that the courtiers did not (dare to) laugh until the Emperor had heard what was going on. The German text has nothing corresponding.

‚*etc.*'

What the meaning is of this *etc.*, I am unable to say. See also the last words of chapters 31 and 32. It is of course different from the *etc.* that occurs so often in plays, *e. g.* in Marlowe's Dr. Faustus, where it points to the introduction of gag. See *e. g.* my Faustus-Notes p. 93.

CHAP. 32. (p. 83).

After chapter 35 in Spies (= 36 of the Wolfenbüttel M.S.) which corresponds to our ch. 31, we find another in the German texts which is neither in our text nor in Thoms: D. Faustus frist einem Bawern ein fuder Häw, sampt dem Wagen vnd Pferden. My readers might think I had overlooked our ch. 35 (p. 89), but for this there is an (other) original in the German texts, *viz.* ch. 40 in Spies, 41 in the Wolfenbüttel M.S.

‚hee gaue them in charge that' (p. 84).

See also p. 85: the olde Duke gaue in charge that *etc.* The expression to give in charge = to charge, will of course cause no difficulty. See the N.E.D. *sub* 13. *b.* But Dr. Murray gives no instances of this expression with a subordinate clause; hence I call attention to these two cases.

‚courtesie'

Here as well as on p. 95, the word may be used either in the usual signification or in the concrete meaning of ‚something pleasant'. See my F. N. p. 115.

‚and good inough' (p. 85).

This expression, the explanation of which is not clear to me, has no equivalent in Spies.

‚in promising the Diuel so largely' (p. 86).

There can be no question here of what Faustus could

have promised the devil. So it is not astonishing to find just the contrary in Spies: die Verheissung war grosz mit seinem Geist. One of Mr. P. F.'s random renderings again.

‚banqueting .... in an Inne' (p. 87).

Not in Spies; suggested by Spies' chapter 39 (= our ch. 34, p. 89) or by the context.

‚hauing farre home'

We find ‚having to go far home' in Thoms, which is most likely the original reading and certainly a clearer one.

‚gaue the flight' (p. 89).

I do not know this expression in the sense of took to flight, which it must necessarily have here. To give flight is a term in falconry (see the N.E.D. IV. 323. *a*) with which we have nothing to do here. We shall therefore not be far out, if we look upon our expression as a Germanism, seeing that Spies reads: gab die Flucht. (p. 83).

‚hee made him readie fiue fat Swine' (p. 91).

The following extract from Trevisa, which I can unfortunately at present only quote at second hand, constitutes a remarkable recipe for the process: ‚olde wyfes and wymmen were i-woned ..... for to schape hem self in likness of hares ..... also some by crafts of nygromancie makeþ fat swyne .... and selleþ hem in chepinge and in feires; but anon þese swyne passeþ ony water þey torneþ agen in to her owne kynde .... But þese swyne mowe not be i-kept by no manere craft for to dure in liknesse of swyn over þre days' (Higden, *Polychronicon.* Rolls series, 1, 360, quoted by Elworthy, The Evil Eye, in the note to p. 29, where more information about such transformation will be found). So all Dr. Faustus wanted by way of material, was five bundles of straw.

‚wishly'

The context is not precise enough to allow us to determine the exact meaning the word has here. Longingly — the meaning if the word, as originally or in the mind of P. F., was connected with wish; quietly — if the word was, again, either as originally or then only, felt to be connected

with whist (as Muret and Schröer seem to indicate); attentively — if in the same way we have to think of wistly and its congeners, — all these significations would seem to fit in and leave the way open for speculation. The history of these words which seem to have continually influenced one another's form and signification will not be disentangled until the N.E.D. shall have cleared the way or, as is to be expected, until it shall have spread the necessary light itself.

‚great-bellied women .... long' (p. 92).

See my Faustus-Notes p. 114. The woman of p. 28, whose belly is never satisfied, is probably ‚longing' in a different way.

‚Rohumbuel' (p. 93).

Spies: Rohmbühel; Wolfenbüttel: Rennbühell. The only hill near Anhalt that can be meant to my knowledge, is the Ramberg; — bühl is the well known suffix meaning hill, mountain; so Rohmbühl may have been an older name for Ramberg.

‚CULLIN wine .... WATZBURG wine' (p. 94).

Of Cullin (*i. e.* Cologne see p. 60) wine I have never heard; no such sort is found mentioned amongst the 18 wines of Spies' text. The WATZBURG wine must be the wine grown at Würzburg, — see p. 159 and the note to that page.

‚an hollie wand' (p. 95).

An amusing mistranslation on the part of P. F. who did not know (or think of) Spies' ‚Sprosse' — the rung of a ladder (the *Leiter* mentioned in the German text) but took it in the sense of *germen, surculus* which it could not have here.

‚they vse as this night great feasting' (p. 97).

Thoms reads ‚a t this night'. For this use of (redundant) ‚as', see the N.E.D. *sub* 34; Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, p. 311 and *c.f.* Dutch, als dan, als wanneer, *etc.*

‚the high glasses .... were caroused one to another' (p. 98).

The word carouse is here used in a sense slightly different from the usual significations. ‚To drink a bumper to any one' (Murray *in voce*, sub 1. *b.*) has developed the idea

of ‚anstossen', to knock the wine-glasses together, which is what our friend P. F. was evidently thinking of. As the German text (*herumb giengen*, Spies p. 91) cannot have suggested the word here, we may look upon the semasiology involved as ‚made in England'.

‚as white as the Swanne' (p. 102).

See the note to Cowe's tail, *ante* p. 142.

‚neere hand'

See the note to this word on p. 162.

‚desireth thee' (p. 104).

See the note to ‚desiring him of pardon' on p. 139.

‚whereas before he might haue done a good deede, and gone about his busines quietly'

Thoms has an interesting variant here: whereas if before he had shewed a little kindness, he might quietly have gone about his business'. There is something to be said in favour of either reading, so I am not prepared to say which is the more original.

‚he meant to haue himselfe the only Cocke in the deuils basket' (p. 105).

Spies reads (p. 96): ‚vermeynendt, er were allein desz Teuffels Han im Korb'. Probably therefore the oldest text read: ‚to have *been* the only Cock'. As to this locution, Spies' phrase is of course the well known expression: der einzige Hahn im Korbe sein (*i. e.* to be the only one to be taken into account, to have no rivals) applied to special circumstances. Thoms has the strangely corrupted text: for he meant to have himself the only cook in the devils banquet.

‚had their recourse in and out vnto Doctor Faustus' (p. 106).

It will be difficult to explain in and out otherwise than as a survival of the German text (jren Ausz vnd Eingang *etc.* Spies p. 98) which is too long of context to be quoted here entirely.

‚hoast heauen'

Read: hoast of heauen, as in Thoms.

,began to iest, and mock' (p. 109)

Understand: (to mock) the Spirit. Spies has: Darauff fieng der alt Mann an desz Geists zu spotten (p. 101).

,ranne amongst the thickest' (p. 113).

The meaning is: ran into the midst of his enemies = rennet er in das Heer hinein (Spies p. 104.)

,one English' (p. 114).

That a later text — Thoms p. 286 — changes this into one Scottish is exactly parallelled by a Dutch text of 1728 which — *teste* Kühne p. 244 — leaves out the ,zwo Niderländerin'. Altogether, the page (of Kühne) quoted, is instructive reading in this connection.

,To the ende that the Diuell would make FAUSTUS his onely heire'

A remarkably bold shot at: Darmit der Teuffel seinem Erben, dem Fausto, gar keinen Mangel liesse.' (p. 105). This example of sense turned into all but nonsense, is characteristic of a then translator's proceedings. See the Introduction p.p. XI, seq.

,almost about estimation, a thousand gilders' (p. 115).

I refer to the preceding note for an appreciation of this translation. The German has: several thousands of guilders (etliche tausendt Gulden).

,after he had slept his first sleepe'

This is only intelligible in the context, when we compare the German: ,Mitternacht als er erwachte'. p. 106.

,especially her whom'

See Spies (*ib.*): so er vormals. His translation should have run: her whom he had before.... shewed.

,Akerkocke' (p. 118).

Thoms has Aberecock, which seems to stand slightly closer to the German Auerhahn, — Aber representing Auer, which P. F. necessarily took = Aver.

,hee fell away from flesh'

In the note to ,desiring him of pardon' on p. 17 of our text (see p. 139), I have diffidently quoted this expression as a possible analogue. But not a probable one, for I do not

find any similar cases and think we are nearer the truth when we look upon it as an attempt at a translation of ‚nam vom Leib ab' (Spies, p. 109).

‚and is in maner as followeth' (p. 119).

See Everyman (ed. Logeman, p. 1): and is in maner of a morall playe'.

ANOTHER COMPLAINT OF DOCTOR FAUSTUS. CHAP. 60.

The whole of this chapter is omitted in Thoms. See my Faustus-Notes p.p. 135—137.

Chapters 60 and 61. (p. 120).

Between chapters 64 and 66 of Spies' text, corresponding to Chapters 60 and 61 of the English translation, there is one in Spies of which no rendering is found either in Thoms or in the 1592 edition. It is a very difficult one, full of proverbs and proverbial expressions.

‚Ah that I could carry the heauens on my shoulders' (p. 121).

See my Faustus-Notes p. 121. [1])

‚I must tell you what is the Victulers due' (p. 123).

There can be no question of his telling them what is due to the Landlord, the German as well as the English text telling us expressly that he paid the ‚shot' himself.

‚when they sleeped'

This cannot be correct either. It is the translation of ‚Als nu der Schlafftrunck auch vollendet ward'. This can only yield sense if we take Schlafftrunck, not in the usual sense of sleeping-potion, *i. e.* a drink, taken to promote sleep, but in that of drink, taken before going to sleep *i. e.* here the liquid part of their supper. P. F.'s translation is wrong; he did not understand Schlafftrunck as used here and wanting to make some head and tail to it, and taking: when they sleeped, as head, hit upon ‚(for drinke was in their heads)' as tail!

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[1]) I am afraid that many a Reader will have qualified the sentence, beginning ‚But P. F. –' as ‚a bold shot at style'. Of course we should read: ‚But .... P. F. although a Gent... was not... a Scholar... *and* doing... reasoned' *etc.*.

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DEUX VERSIONS GRECQUES INÉDITES

DE LA VIE

DE

PAUL DE THÈBES

RECUEIL DE TRAVAUX

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EXTRAIT DU RÈGLEMENT.

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Tous les autres le sont en vertu d'une décision de la Faculté.

Dans un article paru en 1897 (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, p. 357), nous avons annoncé M. Léon Parmentier et moi la publication de quelques vies de saints inédites, découvertes dans un manuscrit du couvent de Patmos. On trouvera ici l'une de ces vies, pour laquelle je dispose dès à présent de collations assez nombreuses. M. Parmentier m'a laissé le soin d'éditer seul ce document. Je n'ai mis son nom nulle part dans le cours du travail, parce qu'il m'eût été impossible de relever tout ce dont je suis redevable à un compagnon d'études et de voyage qui a été mon maître autant que mon ami.

M. l'abbé P. van den Ven avait entrepris de son côté de publier les versions grecques de la vie de Paul de Thèbes, d'après les manuscrits de Paris, de Leyde et de Rome, sans avoir remarqué la note de la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* où nous en annoncions une édition. Avec une courtoisie dont je suis heureux de pouvoir le remercier publiquement, il a interrompu des recherches fort bien conduites et déjà très avancées, dès qu'il eût appris que je les faisais en même temps que lui. Je dois même à son désintéressement une série de renseignements précieux qui feront revenir son nom plus d'une fois dans le courant de l'introduction.

Un jeune docteur en philosophie et lettres de l'université de Liége qui s'est fait connaître par d'importantes publications, M. Kugener, a bien voulu mettre à ma disposition la connaissance approfondie qu'il a de la langue syriaque, et faire une traduction littérale d'un texte dont il m'était indispensable de connaître les variantes. On verra dans les notes de cet opuscule tout ce que m'a fourni son obligeante collaboration.

INTRODUCTION.

Les vies des moines ont eu beaucoup de vogue dès les débuts de la littérature hagiographique [1]), et le nom de Paul de Thèbes, le premier des anachorètes chrétiens, a dû attirer tout particulièrement la curiosité. Sans doute aussi les lecteurs des monastères d'autrefois trouvèrent du charme aux aventures merveilleuses et aux impressions édifiantes du voyage que fit Antoine à travers le désert de la Thébaïde, pour arriver à l'ermitage de son devancier (car c'est là tout le sujet de la vie de Paul de Thèbes). Je ne pense pas qu'il faille chercher d'autres causes de succès pour rendre raison du nombre assez considérable des copies et des versions des deux narrations grecques que j'édite ici. Les bibliothèques en cachent plus d'une encore, sans doute, que je n'ai point connue, et il est possible qu'il en existe à mon insu, outre les versions copte et syriaque, des traductions dans l'un ou l'autre idiôme de l'Orient chrétien; mais je n'ai arrêté mes recherches qu'après avoir mis la main sur assez de données pour pouvoir résoudre les problèmes que l'examen de ces deux textes donne lieu de poser.

Il est une question dont toutes les autres dépendent, et dont l'importance n'échappera à personne. Ces deux

1) Voir l'étude de M. Ehrhard dans Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteratur*, 2e éd., p. 180 s.

narrations de la vie de Paul de Thèbes, si simples, où il y a si peu de prétentions littéraires et de rhétorique, sont elles des remaniements de la vie latine de saint Jérôme [1]), destinés à un public peu lettré, ou bien au contraire pourraient elles servir à donner une idée de quelque document primitif composé par un disciple de saint Antoine, et qui aurait inspiré l'écrivain latin? Jérôme est-il le seul témoin qui nous affirme l'existence du plus ancien des solitaires, et les prodiges qui le firent connaître au fondateur du monachisme — épisode de la vie de saint Antoine dont la biographie grecque attribuée à Athanase ne dit pas un mot —, ou bien possédons-nous la déposition, pour ainsi dire, d'un écrivain antérieur à Jérôme, qui tiendrait d'Antoine lui-même le récit de sa rencontre avec son devancier?

Cette question des rapports qu'ont entre elles les différentes versions de la vie de Paul le premier ermite, a fait déjà l'objet d'un long débat. Rosweyde estima que la narration grecque M (v. p. XXX) dérive de celle de saint Jérôme [2]), Bollandus affirma la thèse contraire [3]); il fut suivi par Lambecius [4]), par Fuhrmann [5]), et son opinion passa dans la plupart des grands ouvrages du siècle passé [6]). Tout récemment encore, M. Amélineau crut avoir retrouvé dans une vie copte de Paul de Thèbes, les traces d'un récit composé par un disciple de saint Antoine, et que saint Jérôme aurait utilisé [7]). Mais les uns et les autres

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1) Voir ci-dessous page V s.

2) *Vitae Patrum*, Anvers 1628, p. 16.

3) *Acta Sanctorum*, Janvier, t. 1 p. 602—603. Cf. *Analecta Bollandiana* II 561.

4) Lambecius-Kollar, *Comment. de Bibl. Caes. Vindob.*, t. VIII p. 719 ss.

5) *Acta Sincera s. Pauli Thebaei*, Neostadii Austriae, 1760, p. 4 de la dissertation préliminaire, et *passim*.

6) Voir les autorités citées par Fuhrmann, *l.l.*, p. 5 et *passim*. — *Acta SS.*, Sept., IV, 148 s., etc., etc.

7) *Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. XXV, pages V—XVII.

disposaient de renseignements insuffisants, et Rosweyde est le seul qui ne se soit point trompé.

Dans ces dernières années, plusieurs savants ont vu que la thèse de M. Amélineau est insoutenable. J'aurai à citer plus loin les remarques judicieuses que MM. Butler et Ladeuze ont faites à ce propos [1]), et M. Preuschen, en appréciant avec compétence et sagacité les publications renfermées dans le t. XXV des *Annales du Musée Guimet* [2]), a été bien près de deviner quels étaient les rapports des différentes versions de la vie de Paul de Thèbes. Toutefois une démonstration rigoureuse de la filiation de tous ces documents hagiographiques restait encore à établir, ainsi qu'un classement complet et méthodique des éléments d'une tradition manuscrite assez compliquée. C'est précisément ce que je vais essayer de faire ici.

Voici d'abord la liste des différentes narrations de la vie de Paul de Thèbes:

I La vie latine composée par saint Jérôme, et imprimée dans toutes les éditions de ses oeuvres complètes, dans celles d'Érasme, des Bénédictins de Saint-Maur, de Vallarsi, et dans Migne, *Patrologie latine*, XXIII (1845), col. 17—28 (= Hier.) [3]). Hier.

L'authenticité de cet écrit de saint Jérôme nous est attestée par le témoignage de l'auteur lui-même [4]). Il fut

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1) Voir p. XVI, n. 2. Dans une communication intéressante qu'il vient de faire à la société asiatique (à paraître dans le *Journal Asiatique*, séance du 19 Juin 1900), M. Nau émet l'opinion que saint Jérôme se serait contenté de paraphraser en latin un texte grec préexistant. C'est un peu avec l'espoir de le faire changer d'avis, que j'ai donné tant de place aux citations ci dessous dans le courant de l'argumentation (p. XVIII et suiv.).

2) *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, 1896, col. 353 ss.

3) Voir aussi Rosweyde, *l.l.*, p. 17 à 26 — *Acta Sanctorum*, Janvier, t. I, p. 604—607 — Fuhrmann, *l.l.*, 33—162, etc.

4) *De viris illustribus*, § CXXXV (Patr. Lat., t. XXIII, col. 717 A):

composé, selon M. Bardenhewer, en 376 environ [1]), selon d'autres, qui invoquent la date de la lettre à Paul de Concordia, en 374 ou 375 [2]). Les éditions imprimées de cette vie donnent un texte très mal établi. Les variantes des innombrables manuscrits qui la reproduisent sont assez considérables [3]), et nous sommes loin de les connaître au complet. Je citerai le texte de cette vie et les variantes des manuscrits d'après la *Patrologie Latine, l. l.*

II Une traduction grecque anonyme de la vie précédente: c'est le texte que je reproduis ci-dessous, pages
a 2 à 32 (= a).

Le traducteur suit le latin d'assez près, dès les premières lignes du morceau:

P.L., XXIII § 1, col. 17 A: *Inter multos saepe dubitatum est* etc.	Voir p. 2, l. 4: Ἐν πολλοῖς πολλάκις ζήτησις ἐκινεῖτο κτλ.

„Haec scripsi: vitam Pauli monachi ..." — *Epist. ad Paulum Concordiensem* (*Ibid.*, t. XXII, col. 344): *„Misimus interim te tibi, id est Paulo seni Paulum seniorem; in quo propter simpliciores quosque, multum in dejiciendo sermone laboravimus. Sed nescio quomodo, etiamsi aqua plena sit, tamen eumdem odorem lagena servat, quo dum rudis esset, imbuta est."* — *Chronic., ann. XIX Constantii* (*ibid.*, t. XXVIII, 687—688): *„Antonius monachus centesimo quinto aetatis anno in eremo moritur, solitus multis ad se venientibus de Paulo quodam Thebaeo mirae beatitudinis viro referre quamplura; cujus nos exitum brevi libello explicavimus."* — Cf. les *testimonia* cités par Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum* 1628, p. 13 — La fin du récit fournit d'ailleurs une indication qui ne peut guère donner lieu à équivoque (§ 28): *„Obsecro quicumque haec legis, ut Hieronymi peccatoris memineris."*

1) *Patrologie*, p. 434.

2) *Acta SS.*, Septembre t. VIII p. 445 s., et 673. — *Patrol. Lat.*, t. XXIII, 15—16. — Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Litt. des Mittelalters* I 192.

3) Érasme fait précéder le texte d'une note intéressante à cet égard (p. 217 de l'édition Froben, Bâle, 1553): *„Tanta erat in exemplaribus varietas ut appareat Hieronymum saepius idem argumentum aliis tractasse verbis, aut alium, exercendae copiae causa, hoc fecisse."* Rosweyde proteste contre cette assertion, *l.l.*, p. 21: *„Ego verò tantam varietatem non invenio, nec in impressis, nec in manuscriptis exemplaribus."* Cf. *Acta SS., Jan.* I 602, § 5.

Le plus souvent, il rend l'original mot pour mot, par ex.:

Ibid., § 12, col. 26 B: *Stupefactus ergo Antonius, quod de Athanasio et pallio eius audierat, quasi Christum in Paulo videns, et in pectore eius Deum venerans*, etc.	p. 24, 11: Θαυμάσας τοιγαροῦν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅτι περὶ Ἀθανασίου καὶ τῆς στολῆς αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν, ὡς χριστὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ὁρῶν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς στέρνοις αὐτοῦ τὸν κύριον προσκυνῶν, κτλ.
Ibid., § 13, col. 26 C: *Ubi tamdiu moratus es, pater? respondit: Vae mihi peccatori, qui falsum monachi nomen fero. Vidi Eliam, vidi Ioannem in deserto, et vere vidi Paulum in paradiso.*	p. 24, 20: Ποῦ τοσοῦτον χρόνον διῆγες, πάτερ; ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐαί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ, τῷ ἐπίπλαστον μοναχοῦ ὄνομα ἐπικομιζομένῳ. Εἶδον Ἠλίαν, εἶδον Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ Παῦλον εἶδον.

Quand il s'en écarte, c'est par ignorance, par négligence ou par maladresse.

Le vocabulaire qu'il emploie est peu varié; par ex. πειρασμοί rend à la fois *insidiae* (4, 7) et quelques lignes plus loin (4, 11) *tempestas* — 6, 3 à 5: ἀπαλῶς τε (*molli sibilo*) ὑποσυριζόντων τῶν φύλλων, ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς ἀπαλῆς ὕπτιον ἀπαλοῖς (*blandis*) καταδήσαντες δεσμοῖς — 16, 20 s.: πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ... πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ὄρους — voir encore p. 8, l. 6 et 10 — etc., etc.

Quand la traduction demanderait, pour rester exacte, quelque effort ou quelque habileté, elle devient fautive et s'écarte du texte. Les expressions pittoresques ou poétiques font place d'habitude aux mots les plus ternes. Les passages descriptifs de la narration latine ont souvent disparu. Mais j'aurai à reparler plus loin (p. XXV) des omissions, qui sont fréquentes dans toutes nos copies.

Notons enfin que le traducteur a conservé la finale si

caractéristique, où Jérôme signe son oeuvre pour ainsi dire [1]). Deux manuscrits de la Vaticane font même figurer le nom de Jérôme dans le titre du morceau [2]).

Un ami de saint Jérôme, Sophronios, avait traduit en grec plusieurs de ses oeuvres, entre autres la vie de saint Hilarion [3]). Les éditions des *opera Hieronymi* reproduisent une traduction grecque du *De Viris illustribus* qui est attribuée à ce même Sophronios [4]). Enfin un certain nombre de manuscrits contiennent une vie grecque de Malchus traduite également du latin de saint Jérôme: celle-ci serait-elle aussi l'oeuvre du même traducteur, à qui il faudrait attribuer également notre vie grecque de Paul de Thèbes? La question mériterait de faire l'objet de recherches sérieuses. Le témoignage que notre vie grecque apporte à l'appui de diverses variantes du texte latin [5]) gagnerait l'autorité d'une copie contemporaine de l'auteur. M. l'abbé van den Ven, qui se propose de publier bientôt la vie grecque de Malchus, examinera ce problème littéraire si intéressant, et, je n'en doute pas, il parviendra à le résoudre, si une solution est possible. Quant à moi, je me contenterai de noter ici que notre traduction grecque est antérieure à Eustratios, écrivain de la fin du VIe siècle [6]).

Il existe à ma connaissance neuf copies de cette traduction grecque (traduction que je désignerai par le
g sigle *g*).

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1) Voir p. 32, 10 s.

2) Voir p. 2, l. 3, apparat critique.

3) Voir *De Viris illustribus* § 134 (Patrol. Lat., XXIII, col. 716).

4) Sur cette traduction, dont l'attribution à Sophronios a été contestée, voir entre autres un travail récent de G. Wentzel, *Die griechische Uebersetzung der viri inlustres des Hieronymus*, Texte und Untersuchungen, XIII 3, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1895, p. 1, et note.

5) Voir p. XLVII.

6) Voir p. XIV et suiv.

1. *Vossianus* 46, du Xe siècle, f. 115^v—120 (= L) [1]. L
J'ai pu collationner moi-même ce manuscrit, grâce à l'obligeance de M. F. van der Haeghen et de M. le bibliothécaire de l'université de Leyde, qui ont bien voulu, l'un demander, l'autre accorder l'envoi de ce manuscrit à Gand. De plus, M. van den Ven m'a communiqué une copie faite avec le plus grand soin, et qui m'a dispensé de revoir une seconde fois le manuscrit. Ce *Vossianus* donne un texte souvent meilleur que celui de tous les autres apographes.

On en aura la preuve, si l'on veut bien rapprocher du texte de saint Jérôme les leçons de L aux passages suivants [2]: 4, 3 — 6, 5 — 12, 11 — 14, 12 — 16, 8 — 24, 8 et 9 — 28, 2 et 17 — 32, 9; etc.

Cette copie a par contre un certain nombre de fautes spéciales: 6, 21 — 10, 16 — 14, 11 et 19, etc.; — des omissions, comme 4, 4 — 8, 16 — 10, 14 — 28, 7. Le texte de L porte des traces d'une révision, qui a introduit quelques remaniements et notamment plus d'une conjecture malheureuse, comme 4, 20 — 16, 17 — 18, 9 — 26, 10.

De toutes nos copies, c'est celle de L qui renferme le moins de fautes d'orthographe.

2. *Vaticanus* 866, du XIIe siècle, f. 224—226 (= U) [3] et U
3. *Vaticanus* 1589, du XIe siècle, f. 17—20 (= V) [4]. V

Ces deux *Vaticani*, dont je connais le texte par des reproductions photographiques, donnent deux copies, indépendantes l'une de l'autre, d'une même tradition, caractérisée par un bon nombre de fautes communes:

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1) Cf. *Catalogus librorum tam impress. quam manuscript. biblioth. publ. universitatis Lugduno-Batavae.* Leyde, 1716, p. 393.

2) Je dois bien me contenter de donner ces chiffres, sans citer les variantes tout au long, afin de ne pas surcharger démesurément l'introduction.

3) *Catal. cod. hag. gr. biblioth. Vaticanae*, p. 90.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 131.

2, 8 et 15 — 6, 4 et 5 — 8, 3 — 12, 18 — 18, 4 — 30, 3, etc., etc.

De plus, ces deux copies ont en commun un grand nombre de fautes d'orthographe, qu'il eût été trop long de relever et de citer dans l'apparat critique.

Cette tradition UV est altérée tantôt dans V (ex. 4, 20 et 21 — 12, 5, etc.), tantôt dans U (ex. 4, 17 — 8, 13, etc.).

C'est pourtant ce dernier manuscrit qui la reproduit de la manière la plus correcte.

R 4. *Coislinianus* 282, du XIe siècle, f. 202—205 (= R) [1]), et

T 5. *Taurinensis* 116 c. V. 7. (= B III 31), du XVIe siècle, f. 82^v—86^v (= T) [2]). J'ai collationné moi même le *Coislinianus*, et M. O. Zuretti a bien voulu me faire une copie très soignée du texte du *Taurinensis*. Ces deux manuscrits reproduisent une version caractérisée par des fautes, par des interpolations et par d'assez nombreux remaniements; voir 4, 17 — 6, 1 — 8, 2, 4, 5 et 17 — 14, 2 — 16, 6 — 24, 2 et 8 etc., etc.

Des deux représentants de ce groupe RT, le *Coislinianus* R est le moins éloigné du texte primitif. T présente, outre les altérations communes, des remaniements très nombreux et très considérables. Il est inutile d'en citer ici des exemples; on en trouvera à n'importe quelle page, dans l'apparat critique. T est particulièrement prodigue d'épithètes comme ἅγιος, μέγας, ὅσιος [3]).

Il arrive toutefois que T a conservé une leçon meilleure que R, par ex. 2, 6 et 16 — 4, 3 et 4 — 12, 7 — 24, 10 — 26, 4 — 30, 5 — etc.

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1) *Catal. cod. hag. gr. biblioth. nation. Paris.*, p. 307.

2) *Cod. manuscr. bibl. Taurin.*, ed. J. Pasinus. Turin, 1749 t. I, p. 219.

3) D'après les spécimens publiés par M. Krumbacher, *Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios* (*Sitzungsber. der Akad. zu München*, 1892, p. 247 s.), le texte de ce *Taurinensis* offre la même particularité dans un fragment de la vie de saint Théodose, qu'il donne f. 179.

T a notablement moins de fautes d'orthographe que son voisin. Enfin, en maint endroit, à la place du texte altéré de R, il a des leçons qui sont évidemment des conjectures, comme 24, 9, etc.

Le groupe RT a en commun avec UV un bon nombre de fautes caractéristiques comme 6, 5 — 12, 11 — 14, 12 — 16, 8 — 24, 8 — 28, 2 et 17, etc.

Mais il arrive aussi que RT ont des fautes de L, auxquelles UV ont échappé: par ex. 4, 20 — 8, 5 — 30, 20.

Enfin RT ont parfois une leçon qui parait préférable à celle de LUV : 14, 13 — 16, 12 — 22, 8 et 11 [1]).

Bref, pour reconstituer le texte de la traduction grecque de la vie de Paul de Thèbes, nous disposons de trois témoignages, L, RT et UV, dont les deux derniers, RT et UV, sont assez étroitement apparentés; le meilleur de ces témoignages est celui de L, le moins sûr est celui de RT; dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, il faut les traiter tous trois comme indépendants les uns des autres, en les groupant de la manière suivante: L — RTUV [2]).

Outre ces manuscrits, il existe encore quelques copies de la traduction grecque de la vie de Paul de Thèbes, sur lesquelles M. van den Ven m'a fort obligeamment fourni d'utiles renseignements:

6. *Vaticanus* 1638, XIe siècle, f. 237—245 [3]):

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1) Voir aussi, sur la valeur de ce groupe RT, ce que nous dirons ci dessous, p. XXVI.

2) Il faut mettre beaucoup de prudence dans les conclusions de ce travail de classement, car le texte latin de saint Jérôme est très mal établi. Lorsqu'on en aura une bonne édition critique, et que les variantes des manuscrits les plus anciens seront mieux connues, on pourra sans doute dresser un *stemma* des copies de notre traduction grecque avec la plus grande sécurité.

3) *Catal. cod. hag. gr. biblioth. Vaticanae*, p. 145. La collation partielle qui m'a permis de me faire une idée de la valeur de ce *Vaticanus* et du

d'après les quelques spécimens dont je dispose, ce manuscrit donne un texte qui présente les altérations caractéristiques du groupe RT et plus spécialement les leçons de T, déjà dans le titre: Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου τοῦ Θηβαίου τοῦ πρὸ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ μεγάλου ἀσκήσαντος (cf. T, p. 2, notes, l. 3) — 2, 5 οἰκεῖσθαι ἡ ἔρημος = T — 2, 6 ἡλιοῦ = RT — 2, 12 εἰ καὶ τὰ μ. = RT — 2, 15 Ἀματὰς] ἅμα = T — καὶ οἱ μακάριοι μαθηταὶ = T — 2, 16 καὶ omis = T — 4, 3 τοιγαροῦν] πρὸς τὸ παρὸν = RT — 8, 4 τί omis = RT — ἀφελεστέρων ajouté comme dans RT — 8, 5 οὐκ omis = LRT — ἀναγκάζει] παρασκευάζει = RT — 8, 17 même interpolation que dans RT. — Ces exemples suffisent à montrer que la connaissance complète de cette copie n'eût rien donné d'important pour la constitution du texte. La tradition manuscrite du groupe RT, sera suffisamment représentée dans l'apparat critique par les variantes du *Coislinianus* et du *Taurinensis*.

7. *Vaticanus* 2022, XIIe—XIIIe siècle, f. 224—232^v: il reproduit les leçons du groupe UV, et assez souvent les fautes spéciales à V; le titre qu'il donne au morceau est à peu près le même que dans V: Βίος Παύλου ἀσκητοῦ Θηβαίου συγγραφεὶς παρὰ Ἱερονύμου — voir encore 4, 3 τὸ παρὸν = UV — 8, 5 ἀθεμήτως οὐκ ἀναγκάζει = UV — 8, 12 ἔρημον = V — 8, 18 περιεργάζετο = VT — etc. De plus ce manuscrit a des remaniements et des omissions qui en font un témoin de beaucoup plus mauvais que UV; par ex. le passage 2, 10 à 14 est omis — la fin est très altérée: θέλω παῦλου τὸν χειτῶνα μετὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ἢ τὴν ἀλουργίδα μετὰ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς καὶ εἶναι ἐν ἁμαρτίαις. Ἐκοιμήθη δὲ ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀββᾶ παῦλος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίω ιε' ἐν χριστῷ τῷ κυρίω ἡμῶν (voir p. 32, 12).

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suivant, m'a été communiquée par M. van den Ven, qui la devait lui même à M. Mercati, le savant conservateur des manuscrits de la Vaticane.

8. *Cod.* 219 de la bibliothèque du patriarcat à Jérusalem, XIIe siècle, f. 126^v—130^v [1]) et

9. *Cod.* 340 de la bibliothèque synodale à Moscou, écrit en l'an 1345 [2]).

Je n'ai pas pu me procurer une collation de ces deux dernières copies.

Je n'ai donc retenu pour l'apparat critique que les variantes des cinq manuscrits: LRTUV (voir le *stemma* plus loin, p. XLI).

Chaque fois que le choix entre les leçons était libre, j'ai suivi le témoignage soit de L + UV, soit de L + RT; quand il n'y avait pas de leçon commune à L et à une des familles du groupe RTUV, j'ai — puisqu'il fallait bien faire un choix — mis dans le texte la leçon de L, la copie en somme la moins fautive. Quelquefois, le texte de la seconde vie grecque m'a permis de corriger des fautes communes aux cinq manuscrits [3]). Je n'ai pas encombré l'apparat critique des nombreuses fautes d'orthographe des diverses copies (iotacismes, confusion de *αι* et *ε*, de *ο* et *ω*, consonnes répétées, fautes d'esprit ou d'accent), excepté pour les noms propres, et dans les cas où ces variantes peuvent donner lieu à quelque hésitation pour le rétablissement du texte.

Quant aux *ν* euphoniques, accents, et autres détails d'orthographe, j'ai suivi systématiquement, sauf indication contraire, les leçons de L [4]).

Bien qu'elles fussent très nombreuses et de peu

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1) „Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, t. II p. 329" (van den Ven). Le titre est à peu près le même que dans le *Vaticanus* 1638 (voir p. XII), ce qui fait douter de sa valeur. Ce manuscrit et le suivant m'ont été signales par M. van den Ven.

2) Vladimir, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque synodale de Moscou* (en russe), t. I, 1894, p. 500 (van den Ven).

3) Voir p. XXV et suiv.

4) Afin d'abréger autant que possible l'apparat critique, j'ai employé les formules latines traditionnelles.

d'intérêt par elles-mêmes, j'ai reproduit toutes les variantes du *Taurinensis* T, à cause du rôle important que cette version a joué dans l'histoire de la tradition.

C'eût été surcharger considérablement un apparat critique déja fort encombré, que d'y faire figurer le texte de saint Jérôme chaque fois que nos manuscrits sont en désaccord. J'avais d'ailleurs le droit de supposer que les lecteurs désireux d'étudier de près le texte de cette traduction grecque, se mettraient sous les yeux l'original latin. C'est donc dans des cas tout-à-fait exceptionnels que l'on trouvera la vie latine citée dans l'apparat critique.

III Il existe une deuxième vie inédite de Paul de Thèbes, qui est conservée dans une version grecque, dans une version copte, et dans une version syriaque.

La version grecque se trouve:

1) d'abord dans le *Patmiacus* 273, du XIe siècle, f.
A 51^v—57 (= A)[1]).

2) puis dans le *Parisinus* 914, du XIIe siècle, f. 271
P — 276 (= P)[2]).

3) Eustratios, un disciple d'Eutychios († 582)[3]), cite
Eustr. deux extraits de cette vie grecque (= Eustr.) dans son λόγος ἀνατρεπτικὸς πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ ἐνεργεῖν τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς etc., imprimé en partie dans L. Allatius, *De utriusque ecclesiae . . . perpetua in dogmate de purgatorio consensione*, Rome, 1655, p. 336 ss. Il introduit la première citation (p. 427) par les mots: Λέγει τοίνυν ὁ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ Παύλου συγγραφόμενος οὕτως[4]).

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1) Voir la description de ce manuscrit que nous avons publiée M. L. Parmentier et moi dans la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1897 (t. VI) 357 s.

2) *Catalogus cod. hag. gr. bibl. nat. Paris.*, p. 51.

3) Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byz. Litt.*², p. 59.

4) Voir ci dessous, p. 11 et 27 du texte, en note. Ces citations si importantes pour l'histoire de la tradition, ont été relevées dans Fuhrmann, *l. l.*, p. 45 et suiv.

Cette version grecque coïncide avec la vie copte [1]) que M. Amélineau a publiée, en même temps qu'une traduction française, dans les *Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. XXV, p. 1—14, d'après le *cod. vat. Copt.* n° LXIV, f. 31—39 [2]) (= K), datant du IXe ou du Xe, peut-être K
même du XIe siècle [3]). Il y a dans le texte une lacune d'un folio, peut-être même de deux feuillets [4]).

Enfin l'orientaliste bien connu, le P. Bedjan, a édité une vie syriaque qui, sauf des détails sans importance, est identique aux versions grecque et copte que nous venons de mentionner; cette vie est publiée dans les *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, t. V, Paris, 1895, p. 561
—572 (Σ), d'après le manuscrit syriaque 317 (paraissant Σ
être du XVIIIe s.) de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris [5]), et le manuscrit *add.* 12,173 du British Museum, que Wright attribue au VI—VIIe siècle [6]). M. Kugener a bien voulu me donner de ce texte syriaque une traduction française littérale, qui m'a permis d'en établir les variantes avec assez de certitude, et il m'a fait savoir que le manuscrit syr. *Or.* 5021, une acquisition récente

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1) M. van den Ven m'a fait savoir que ce texte est du dialecte bohirique.

2) *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXV, p. 1, note.

3) *Ibidem*, p. XIV.

4) *Ibidem*, p. 3, note. — P. XIV—XV de son introduction, M. Amélineau donne la traduction d'une notice d'un „Synaxaire copte, 2 Emschir" sur s. Paul de Thèbes. M. Amélineau ne doute pas que ce morceau ne dérive d'une source autre que la vie de Jérôme. Mais les raisons sur lesquelles sa conviction s'appuie, me laissent fort hésitant. Je croirais plutôt que cette notice remonte, pour la plus grande partie du moins, à la même origine que la vie copte elle même, avec laquelle elle coïncide le plus souvent. Cf. ci-dessous, p. XVI et suiv. — „Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Synaxarium das ist heiligen-kalender der Coptischen Christen aus dem Arabischen uebersetzt.* Gotha, 1879, p. VIII (van den Ven)."

5) J.-B. Chabot, *Notice sur les ms. syriaques de la Bibl. Nat. acquis depuis* 1874, *Journal Asiatique*, 9e série, t. VIII (1896), p. 264—265. — „Ce manuscrit n'a guère de valeur; la plupart de ses variantes doivent être considérées comme des fautes de copie (Kugener)."

6) Wright, *Catal. of the syriac ms. in the British Mus.* III, p. 1070.

du British Museum, contient la même vie de Paul de Thèbes que les manuscrits utilisés par le P. Bedjan [1]).

Pour rendre l'argumentation plus rapide, je désignerai
b par le sigle b la rédaction que reproduisent ces quatre
a versions ainsi que les extraits d'Eustratios, et par a le texte donné par les manuscrits LRTUV, tandis que le texte primitif de la traduction grecque de S. Jérôme sera désigné par la lettre g.

Il est certain que la source de b n'est autre que la traduction grecque g [2]): si l'on se reporte aux textes a et b reproduits ci-dessous p. 1 à 33, et qu'on les compare au latin de saint Jérôme, on verra que b est un remaniement très libre de g, donnant une narration plus simple, et mieux à la portée de lecteurs peu lettrés.

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1) Outre le ms. syr. *add.* 12173, le British Museum en possède trois autres qui donnent une vie de Paul de Thèbes: les numéros *add.* 14653, 14730, et 14732. „L'*add.* 14653 et l'*add.* 14730 n'ont pas la phrase qui attribue la vie de Paul de Thèbes à saint Jérôme. Le texte donné par l'*add.* 14730 nous semble très fautif; il a dû être copié par un scribe très négligent" (Kugener).

2) Dans son excellente *Étude sur le cénobitisme Pakhomien*, Louvain, 1898, p. 45, note 3, M. Ladeuze a indiqué quelques arguments qui donnent à penser que le texte copte — et sa démonstration s'applique tout aussi bien à l'ensemble de la tradition b — dérive de saint Jérôme. On pourrait facilement multiplier le nombre des preuves. Contentons nous de citer ici deux passages: 11, 9 après une digression manifestement écourtée, b conserve la transition *ἵνα οὖν ἐπανναλαβὼν* ... qui serait surprenante, si la source d'où il dérive n'avait pas eu les détails que Jérôme donne sur les austérités des moines de Syrie; 17, 1 s. écourtée comme elle l'est dans b, l'apostrophe à la ville d'Alexandrie n'a plus de raison d'être, etc. — Notons aussi que dom C. Butler, *The lausiac history of Palladius* (*Texts and Studies ed. by Armitage Robinson*, vol. VI n° 1), Cambridge, University press, 1898, p. 285 s., ainsi que M. E. Preuschen, dans un très intéressant compte-rendu, *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, 1896, n° 12, avaient montré sommairement, contre M. Amélineau, que le texte copte ne provient pas d'un document antérieur à saint Jérôme. J'irai plus loin qu'eux, en essayant de prouver que la version b dérive de g. Voir ce qui a été dit ci dessus (p. V, note 2) d'une thèse tout opposée, avancée récemment par M. Nau.

Les périodes sont divisées ou amputées (par exemple 7, 1 à 9, 5 — 11, 1 à 4 — 25, 9 à 13 — 31, 1 s.), le discours direct remplace souvent le discours indirect (voir par ex. 15, 8 — 23, 20 et suiv. — 29, 4 et 14 etc., etc.), les mots ou les tournures les plus ordinaires sont substitués aux expressions choisies par le traducteur de saint Jérôme (voir 23, 1 *ἐδιπλασίασεν τὸ σιτηρέσιον*] *ἀπέστειλεν ἡμῖν ... διπλῆν τροφὴν* b — 25, 3 *εἰ τοῦτο ἀνεπαχθὲς*] *εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν σοι βαρὺν* b — 27, 19 *εὐθέως*] *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ* b), notamment les noms abstraits sont plus d'une fois évités, par ex.: 25, 5 *πρὸς ἐντυλιγμὸν τοῦ σώματός μου*] *ἵνα μου περιβάλῃς τὸ σῶμα* — cf. *ibid.*, 7 et suiv., etc., etc.

Souvent les derniers restes de la rhétorique de saint Jérôme, déjà fort entamée par a, disparaissent sans laisser la moindre trace. On a écourté ou supprimé comme inutiles plus d'un de ses développements (par ex. 15, 11 — 25, 2 — 27, 12 — 29 en haut — 31, 12, etc., etc.), on a sacrifié notamment les dissertations qui veulent rendre acceptables les épisodes miraculeux du récit (11, 8 et 17, 3 s.), ainsi que des digressions historiques comme 5, 8 et 25, 13.

Enfin b introduit dans le texte un grand nombre de vulgarismes.

Quand l'auteur de ce remaniement ajoute au texte grec qu'il utilise, c'est une amplification verbeuse ou quelque détail sans importance: par ex. 3, 5 — 13, 8 — 19, 7 s., etc. Il ne devait pas être très attentif ni très minutieux. Du moins il lui arrive souvent de s'écarter de l'original: 3, 11 — 9, 11 s. et 18 — 13, 16 s. — 15, 3 s. — 19, 3 — *ibid.*, 6, dans *προσκρούσας λίθῳ τινὶ*, il voit un datif d'instrument et il interprète: *λαβὼν μικρὸν λίθον ἔκρουσεν εἰς τὴν θύραν*; etc.

On se demande même si l'auteur de b a toujours gardé le texte de g sous les yeux en composant son récit.

Quoi qu'il en soit, voici une série de rapprochements qui, dans leur ensemble, ne s'expliquent que par l'hypothèse d'une source commune g pour a et pour b. Vu l'importance et la difficulté du problème qu'il s'agit de résoudre ici, je citerai les textes latins et grecs tout au long.

On remarquera notamment en plus d'un endroit que le contre sens de b s'explique par l'intermédiaire de la traduction grecque g, et aussi que le manuscrit dont s'est servi l'auteur de b devait appartenir au groupe RT [1]).

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1) Voir page X.

Hier.	a	b
§ 1 (Patrol. Lat., XXIII, col. 17 A): *Inter multos saepe dubitatum est a quo potissimum monachorum eremus habitari coepta sit.*	2, 4: Ἐν πολλοῖς (πατρᾶσι add. T) πολλάκις ζήτησις ἐκινεῖτο παρὰ τίνος πρώτως ἡ ἔρημος οἰκεῖσθαι ἤρξατο.	3, 4 [1]): Πολλάκις κεκίνηται ζήτησις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μονάζουσιν τοῖς γενομένοις ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸ τίς ἄρα πρῶτος κατῴκησεν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.
Quidam enim altius repetentes, a beato Elia et Joanne sumpsere principium: . . .	Τινὲς γὰρ (μὲν T) τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων μνημονεύοντες, ἐκ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἠλία (ἡλιοῦ RT) καὶ Ἰωάννου ἀρχὴν εἰληφέναι τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διαγωγὴν λέγουσιν. . . .	Τινὲς μὲν ἐμνήσθησαν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἁγίων, λέγοντες ὅτι ἀρχὴ τοῦ οἰκεῖν ἐν ἐρήμῳ γέγονεν ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἠλιοῦ καὶ Ἰωάννου . . .
Alii autem, in quam opinionem vulgus omne consentit, asserunt Antonium hujus propositi caput, ...	Ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πλειόνων δόξαν διαβεβαιοῦνται Ἀντώνιον τούτου τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος ἀρχηγὸν γεγενῆσθαι . . .	Ἔνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν πληροφορίαν διαβεβαιοῦνται τὸν μακάριον Ἀντώνιον ἀρχηγὸν γεγονέναι τούτου τοῦ κατορθώματος . . .

1) Pour représenter b, je prends le texte grec reconstitué au moyen des divers témoignages, APKΣ et Eustratios; quant aux variantes des manuscrits, je ne les cite qu'exceptionnellement; on les trouvera, pour a, pour b et pour Hier., soit plus loin dans l'apparat critique, soit dans les notes de Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XXIII, col. 17 à 28.

Amathas vero et Macarius, discipuli Antonii, e quibus superior magistri corpus sepelivit, etiam nunc affirmant Paulum quemdam Thebaeum principem istius rei fuisse, non nominis: quam opinionem nos quoque probamus ...

'Αματὰς ('Αμα T) τοιγαροῦν καὶ Μακάριος (οἱ μακάριοι T) μαθηταὶ 'Αντωνίου, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐτάφη, ἔτι καὶ σήμερον διαβεβαιοῦνται Παῦλόν τινα Θηβαῖον τοῦ πράγματος τούτου ἔξαρχον γεγενῆσθαι. Καὶ ἡμεῖς (δὲ RTUV) περὶ τούτου πεπληροφορήμεθα.

Συντετυχήκαμεν γὰρ ¦τοῖς μαθηταῖς [1]) τοῦ μακαρίου 'Αντωνίου, τοῖς καὶ θάψασιν αὐτόν· οἳ καὶ ἐδήλωσαν ἡμῖν Παῦλόν τινα Θηβαῖον τὸν προκαταρξάμενον ταύτης τῆς ἐν ἐρήμῳ διαγωγῆς. Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τούτῳ ἐπιστώθημεν.

§ 4, col. 20 A: *annorum circiter sexdecim, litteris tam Graecis quam Aegyptiacis apprime eruditus, mansueti animi, Deum valde amans.*

6, 21: ἐτῶν περίπου δέκα ἕξ, γράμμασί τε 'Ελληνικοῖς καὶ Αἰγυπτιακοῖς ἄκρως παιδευθείς, τῇ ψυχῇ πρᾶος (ὑπῆρχεν add. RT), ὑπερβαλλόντως τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπῶν (ἀγαπῶν τὸν θεὸν RTUV) ...

7, 3: ἦν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ὡς ἐτῶν δέκα ἕξ, παιδευόμενος 'Ελληνικοῖς τε καὶ Αἰγυπτιακοῖς γράμμασιν, πρᾶος ὑπάρχων τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν θεὸν σφόδρα ...

Hier.

Ibid., col. 20 B: *Verum quid pectora humana non cogit auri sacra fames* (Virg., En., III 56)?

a

8, 4: 'Αλλὰ τί τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ πλεονεξία πράττειν ἀθέμιτα οὐκ ἀναγκάζει;

RT

Ibid.: 'Αλλὰ τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀφελεστέρων ἀνθρώπων ἡ πλεονεξία πράττειν (καὶ πράττειν T) ἀθέμιτα παρασκευάζει.

b

9, 6: 'Η δὲ πλεονεξία ἐκβιάζεται τὴν διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων κακοεργεῖν.

1) C'est donc la disparition des noms d'Amathas et de Macaire dans la version b [et dans la rédaction Φ, cf. p. XXXV], et non leur présence dans la vie latine [hypothèse ingénieuse de M. Nau, *article cité* p. V, n. 2] qui serait le résultat d'une faute de lecture.

Hier.

§ 7, col. 22 B: *Quo viso, salutaris impressione signi armat frontem: Et heus tu, inquit, quanam in parte hic servus Dei habitat? At ille barbarum nescio quid infrendens, et frangens potius verba quam proloquens, inter horrentia ora setis, blandum quaesivit alloquium. Et dexterae protensione manus cupitum indicat iter, et sic patentes campos volucri transmittens fuga, ex oculis mirantis evanuit. Verum haec utrum diabolus ad terrendum eum simulaverit, an (ut solet) eremus monstruosorum animalium ferax, istam quoque gignat bestiam, incertum habemus.*

a

12, 11: Πρὸς ὃν ἔφη· „Σὺ λέγω, ἐν ποίῳ μέρει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ κατοικεῖ ⟨ὧδε⟩;"

Ἀπεκρίνατο κἀκεῖνος βαρβαρικῇ τινι(?)φωνῇ ἐπικλῶν μᾶλλον τὰ ῥήματα ἤπερ αὐτὰ σαφηνίζων, ἐκ στόματός τε φρικώδους κολακεύειν φαινόμενος ἐπειρᾶτο προσομιλεῖν· καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα προτείνας, τὴν ποθουμένην ἐδείκνυ ὁδόν. Οὕτω τε τὸ πλατὺ πεδίον διατρέχων, ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν θαυμάζοντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο εἴτε ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ἔκπληξιν αὐτοῦ ὑπεκρίνατο, εἴτε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἡ ἔρημος τερατῶδες ζῶον ἐδείκνυ, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχομεν.

b

13, 13: Ἐκάλεσεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος καὶ εἶπεν· „Σὺ λέγω, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ποίῳ μέρει ἐστὶν ὧδε;"

Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος ἐν βαρβαρικῇ διαλέκτῳ ἐν λόγοις ἀσήμοις, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ φόβον ἀπέβαλλεν.

Καὶ περιεπάτει ὁ μακάριος γέρων ἐξιχνεύων καὶ ζητῶν τὴν ὁδόν. Θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἀπέδρα τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰς ἀγρὸν εὐρύχωρον. Οὕτω δὲ ἐσχημάτισεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ διάβολος καθ' ὑπόκρισιν.

§ 9, col. 24 A: *Jam altera effluxerat dies. Restabat unum, ut deseri se a Christo non posse confideret. Pernox secundas in oratione exegit tenebras: et dubia adhuc luce, haud procul intuetur lupam sitis ardoribus anhelantem, ad radicem montis irrepere. Quam secutus oculis, et juxta speluncam, cum fera abiisset, accedens, intro coepit aspicere: nihil curiositate proficiente, tenebris arcentibus visum. Verum, ut Scriptura ait, perfecta dilectio foras mittit timorem* (I *Iohan.*, IV 18), *suspenso gradu et anhelitu temperato, callidus explorator ingressus, ac paulatim progrediens, saepiusque subsistens, sonum aure captabat. Tandem per caecae noctis horro-*

16, 17: ἤδη παρῳχηκυίας ἡμέρας ἑτέρας ἐνθυμούμενος, τοῦτο πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν εἶχεν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ χριστοῦ ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι. Δευτέρᾳ νυκτὶ τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερῶν, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λύκαιναν (ὕαιναν RT) ὁρᾷ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἄσθματος ἀνερχομένην. Ἣνπερ ἀκολουθήσας καὶ πλησίον τοῦ σπηλαίου γενόμενος, τοῦ θηρίου εἰσιόντος, προσελθὼν ἤρξατο ἐνορᾶν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· „ἡ τελειότης τῆς ἀγάπης τὸν φόβον ἀπωθεῖται.” Καὶ μόλις ἐνδοτάτω φῶς θεασάμενος, ὡς ἀκορέστως προσῄει, προσκρούσας λίθῳ τινί, ἐκ τούτου ψόφον ἀπετέλεσεν· οὗ κτυπηθέν-

17, 7: παρελθούσης τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐλογίζετο, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ. Καὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ προσκαρτερῶν τῇ προσευχῇ. Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης, εἶδεν ὕαιναν μεγάλην τρέχουσαν καὶ νηχομένην (? *sic* P) σφοδρῶς, ἀνερχομένην ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους. Καὶ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτήν. Ἐγγὺς δὲ γενόμενος τοῦ σπηλαίου, εἶδεν τὸ θηρίον εἰσεληλυθὸς ἐκεῖ· καὶ ἐμβλέψας ἔσω, εἶδεν τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην, τουτέστιν τὸν μακάριον γέροντα Παῦλον. Καὶ ἀποβαλὼν τὸν φόβον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀτενίσας εἶδεν φῶς ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ. Καὶ προσελθὼν τῇ θύρᾳ μετὰ χαρᾶς,

rem procul lumen intuitus, dum avidius properat, offenso in lapidem pede, strepitum concitavit: post cujus sonitum beatus Paulus ostium quod patebat occludens, sera obfirmavit.	τος, ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος τὴν εἴσοδον ἀνεῳγμένην οὖσαν ἀπέκλεισεν.	λαβὼν μικρὸν λίθον, ἔκρουσεν εἰς τὴν θύραν. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ μακάριος γέρων τὸν ἦχον, ἐπικυλίσας λίθον ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας, ἀπέφραξεν τὴν εἴσοδον.

Mais il est inutile de multiplier ces rapprochements; le lecteur peut les faire d'ailleurs assez aisément pour chaque page, en comparant au texte de saint Jérôme les deux versions publiées ci-dessous. Il constatera que les rapports sont les mêmes à peu près partout. Signalons-lui spécialement encore p. 15, 12 à 17, 3 — 19, 12 à 15 — 21, 10 à 12 — 23, 10 s., etc., et citons le § 18, pour montrer que les ressemblances entre a et b dans leur manière de rendre l'original, persistent jusqu'aux dernières lignes du morceau:

§ 18; col. 28 C: *Obsecro, quicumque haec legis, ut Hieronymi peccatoris memineris: cui si Dominus optionem daret, multo magis eligeret tunicam Pauli cum meritis ejus, quam regum purpuras cum poenis* (ALII COD.: *meritis*, ALII: *regnis*) *suis.*	32, 10: Ἱκετεύω τοιγαροῦν ἅπαντα τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα Ἱερώνυμον τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐν μνήμαις ἔχειν, ὃς θεοῦ βουλήσει βούλομαι τὸν χιτῶνα Παύλου μετὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἤπερ (εἴπερ RTUV) τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πορφύραν μετὰ τῆς ἀξίας αὐτῶν.	33, 12: Ἐγὼ Ἱερώνυμος ἁμαρτωλὸς δέομαι πάντων τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ἵνα μου μνημονεύετε. Θέλω οὖν τὸ ἱμάτιον τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν πορφυρίδα τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν.

Pour achever la démonstration, et pour rendre indiscutable chacune des conclusions que nous aurons à en tirer, je dois bien allonger encore la série déjà si longue de ces rapprochements :

19, 18 : *nemo cum lacrymis calumniam* (ou *iniuriam*) *facit* Hier. : οὐδεὶς μετὰ δακρύων κατηγορεῖ a ; οὐδεὶς κλαίει κατηγορῶν b — *ibid.* : *sic arridens Paulus patefecit ingressum* Hier. : οὕτως χαριεντιζόμενος τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῷ ἀνέῳξεν a : ὁμιλήσας δὲ αὐτῷ χαριεστέροις λόγοις, ἤνοιξε αὐτῷ τὴν θύραν b — 21, 19 : *Dominus nobis prandium misit, vere pius, vere misericors* Hier. : ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν τὸ ἄριστον ἀπέστειλεν ἀληθῶς ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος a : ἐπ' ἀληθείας ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἀπέστειλεν ἡμῖν τὸ ἄριστον b. Le latin *vere pius, vere misericors* ne pouvait donner lieu à équivoque ; le grec ἀπέστειλεν ἀληθῶς ἐλεήμων se prêtait à deux interprétations ; b a choisi justement celle qui s'écartait de l'original, en traduisant comme s'il fallait ponctuer : ἀπέστειλεν ἀληθῶς, ἐλεήμων καὶ ... — 23, 4 : *Hic vero quis frangeret panem oborta contentio, pene diem duxit in vesperum* Hier. : Ἐνταῦθα τίς πρῶτος κλάσει τὸν ἄρτον ἐφιλονείκουν· καὶ λοιπὸν κατείληφεν (*sic* T) ἐκ τῆς φιλονεικίας αὐτῶν ἡ νύξ a : καὶ ἐφιλονείκουν μετ' ἀλλήλων τίς πρῶτος κλάσει τὸν ἄρτον· καὶ ἡ νὺξ λοιπὸν παρήρχετο φιλονεικούντων αὐτῶν b — 25, 13 *regrediebatur* Hier. : ἐπήχθη LR : ἠπήχθη U : ἐπείχθη σπουδῇ T : ἐτάχυνεν τοῦ δραμεῖν εἰς τὴν μονὴν αὐτοῦ b ; même constatation 27, 11 — 27, 1 *falsum* Hier. : ἐπίπλαστον a b — 27, 8 *tempus tacendi et tempus loquendi* (= Eccl. III 7 : καιρὸς τοῦ σιγᾶν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ λαλεῖν) Hier. : καιρὸς τοῦ λέγειν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ σιωπᾶν a : καιρός ἐστιν τοῦ λαλεῖν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ σιωπᾶν b : le déplacement des mots est donc le même dans a et dans b — 27, 15 *et trium horarum spatio iter remaneret* Hier. : περὶ τρίτην ὥραν a : τρίτῃ ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας b — 29, 2 *genubus complicatis* Hier. : ἐπὶ γόνατα a :

ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα b — 29, 17 *bellator* est rendu par οἰκέτης dans a et par ὑπηρέτης dans b — 31, 18 *quod muta quoque animalia deum esse sentirent* Hier. (voir les variantes citées dans Migne, *ibid.*, col. 27, note *g*): ὅτιπερ καὶ ἡ ἄλαλος φύσις τὰ βέλτιστα ἐννοεῖ a: ὅτι πῶς καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἡ φύσις νοεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἐκλεγητοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ b — 33, 4 *ne quid pius heres* etc. Hier.: ὡς νόμιμος κληρονόμος a: ὡς κληρονόμος ἀληθῶς b.

Ailleurs, il y a des additions communes à a et à b, par ex.: 27, 15 a ajoute κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν; b tire de là (εἶδεν τάγματα ἀγγέλων = a) ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ — 29, 18 *ecce duo leones ... currentes* Hier.: ἰδοὺ δύο λέοντες ... ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τρέχοντες RTUVb — 31, 8 a b ajoutent dans les mêmes termes ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναλύσει τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου.

Enfin, et ceci seul suffirait pour écarter tous les doutes, les omissions de a se retrouvent régulièrement dans b; que l'on compare par exemple au texte de saint Jérôme nos deux versions grecques aux passages suivants: 5, 2 et 5 s. — 9, 19 — 15, 7 s. et 10 s. — 15, 13 s. — 19, 3 s. — 33, 12 (§ 17 omis), etc., etc.

Nous ne pouvons d'ailleurs décider si toutes ces omissions sont le fait de l'auteur de la traduction grecque g, ou si elles proviennent, en tout ou en partie, de quelque copiste.

Si b a les mêmes lacunes que a, il n'a par contre aucun détail du récit de saint Jérôme que la traduction grecque n'ait conservé [1]). Seulement, dans quelques endroits, b a gardé mieux que LRTUV la trace des leçons de g: 13, 14 *hic* Hier.: ὧδε b: om. LRTUV — 17, 6 *quo verteret gradum* Hier: καὶ ποῦ πορευθῇ b: om. LRTUV — 19, 11 *nosti* Hier.: οἶδας b: om. LRTUV — 19, 16 ἐμμείναντος de b est plus près du latin que διαβεβαιουμέ-

1) Voir p. XVII ce que nous avons dit des interpolations de b.

νου a — 23, 12 *te conservum* Hier.: σε σύνδουλον b: σε omis LRTUV.

Comme nous l'avons dit déjà p. XVIII, la copie de g dont b dérive, semble être très voisine de RT [1]). Aux coïncidences caractéristiques que nous avons déjà relevées, on peut ajouter encore 2, 9 γεννηθῆναι RT: γεννηθῆναι b — 12, 4 ὑποστηρίζων R (omis T): ἐπεστηρίχθη b — 14, 19 τούτων R: αὐτῶν T: τῶν θηρίων ἐκείνων b. Voir encore 20, 5 — 24, 8 — 26, 19.

Le témoignage de b vient donc s'ajouter utilement à celui de RT pour nous faire connaître la version de ce groupe, et il nous montre qu'en maint passage l'archétype de ce groupe avait dû conserver des leçons excellentes, qui ont disparu dans RT.

Il est donc indiscutable que le point de départ de la
c version commune à APΣK (= b) est une copie de g (= c; voir le *stemma* p. XLI) appartenant assez vraisemblablement au groupe RT. Mais le remaniement b lui même a-t-il été composé en grec, ou en copte, ou en syriaque?

Je ne pense pas que l'on pourrait faire valoir un argument sérieux de nature à rendre vraisemblable que b ait été un texte copte ou syriaque. Par exemple on ne voit pas que AP aient les fautes caractéristiques soit de la version copte, soit de la version syriaque. Par contre, plus d'un indice donne à penser — et c'est d'ailleurs l'hypothèse qui se présente la première à l'esprit — que b était une rédaction grecque de la vie de Paul de Thèbes. S'il n'en était pas ainsi, il semblerait plus étonnant qu'en tant d'endroits l'auteur de la version grecque AP

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1) M. Preuschen n'était donc pas loin de la vérité, en estimant que les vies copte et syriaque dérivaient d'un texte grec très voisin de celui que les Bollandistes ont édité dans les *Analecta Boll.*, II p. 561 s. (Voir *article cité, Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, 1896, p. 355). En effet, comme nous le montrerons plus loin, p. XXXI, ce texte appartient lui aussi au groupe RT.

eût retrouvé, à travers son original copte ou syriaque, les expressions mêmes du traducteur grec de saint Jérôme [1]). De plus, les deux versions copte et syriaque ont souvent, tantôt l'une, tanôt l'autre, aux mêmes endroits que AP, des expressions grecques caractéristiques du remaniement b [2]): l'explication la plus simple de ces coïncidences, est évidemment fournie par l'hypothèse que b était une version grecque [3]).

Aucune des deux copies grecques de b n'est très fidèle. Celle du *Patmiacus* A a des omissions (3, 4 à 9 — 13, 2 — 27, 18 — 29, 7 etc., etc.), des passages écourtés ou fortement remaniés (9, 3 à 12 — 13, 8 s. — etc.); A semble même aller plus loin que b dans la recherche des mots et des constructions ordinaires et faciles, et dans l'emploi des vulgarismes.

P est encore beaucoup plus éloigné du texte primitif: les passages remaniés ou écourtés y sont plus nombreux que dans A (ex. 11, 12 s. — 17, 4 s. et 8 — 19, 3 et 12 — 21, 13 s. — 25, 1 et 14 s.).

La version copte contient, elle aussi, des fautes et des altérations. Malheureusement je ne puis la citer que d'après

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1) Voir les nombreux rapprochements des pages précédentes.

2) Pour le texte copte, la constatation a été faite par M. van den Ven, et par M. Kugener pour la version syriaque. Cf. les conclusions de M. Kugener p. XXVIII, note 1. Quant au copte, voici quelques remarques intéressantes formulées par M. van den Ven: „1°) On constate dans K des changements stylistiques qui trahissent le traducteur. 2°) Il y a dans K plusieurs passages qui sont manifestement des traductions fautives de passages grecs correspondants. 3°) On trouve dans K des constructions plus ou moins anormales au point de vue grammatical, dont l'irrégularité s'explique par la servilité du traducteur vis à vis de b: elles ne sont en effet qu'un décalque du texte grec correspondant." Notons enfin que M. Nau (*article cité* p. V, n. 2) est arrivé de son côté à l'opinion que le copte et le syriaque sont des traductions d'une rédaction grecque très voisine du texte du *Parisinus* 914.

3) Sur les vies de saints traduites du grec en syriaque, consulter R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris, 1900, p. 157—158.

une traduction fort libre, et un passage où elle est eût été particulièrement précieuse a disparu (voir p. 9, note à la l. 2).

Grâce à M. Kugener la version publiée par le P. Bedjan m'est beaucoup mieux connue [1]). Cette version renferme beaucoup de fautes, d'omissions et de remaniements (ex. 9, 6, 14 et 17 etc., etc.). Mais en maint endroit, elle corrobore utilement la leçon de A.

C'est naturellement le texte grec de b, source commune de APKΣ, que j'ai tenté de refaire ci-dessous, p. 3 à 33. Il eût été puéril de suivre systématiquement A, et à plus forte raison P, dans maint passage où leurs fautes sautent aux yeux et sont, grâce au témoignage concordant des trois autres versions, faciles à corriger. La légitimité de la méthode que j'ai adoptée, est d'ailleurs établie à toute évidence dans les deux passages dont Eustratios nous a conservé une citation: on y voit que le texte primitif devait être ce que les quatre versions combinées et rapprochées du texte de a, permettent de reconstituer (voir p. 11 et 27).

Dans les cas absolument douteux, j'ai suivi la majorité

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1) Voici les conclusions auxquelles M. Kugener est arrivé, après avoir fait un examen très approfondi de toutes les leçons spéciales au texte syriaque: „Ce texte est une traduction, semble-t-il, de la rédaction abrégée (= b) de la vie grecque de Paul de Thèbes, traduction faite d'après une copie grecque qui serait très voisine de celle du *Patmiacus* A. Les variantes de la version syriaque sont dues:

1°) à la connaissance médiocre que l'hagiographe syrien avait du grec; il a fait plus d'un contre-sens, et il a ignoré la signification de certains mots grecs.

2°) à la légèreté et à la négligence avec laquelle il a fait sa traduction; il semble avoir travaillé avec une grande rapidité.

3°) aux remaniements que le traducteur a fait subir par endroits au texte grec, pour l'amplifier ou l'orner.

4°) à la tournure libre, syriaque, qu'il a donnée à son oeuvre.

Le texte grec permettra de donner une édition meilleure de la vie syriaque, et de classer les nombreux manuscrits qui la contiennent."

des témoignages, et, si chaque version avait une leçon spéciale, c'est le texte de A qui a été préféré.

Pour la composition de l'apparat critique, la méthode a été la même que pour la version grecque a [1]); seulement, ici, c'est l'orthographe de A que j'ai reproduite systématiquement et, à son défaut, naturellement celle de P. Pour le copte, les incertitudes de la traduction française dont je disposais, m'ont rendu forcément très circonspect. Quant à la vie syriaque, j'ai dû renoncer à citer dans l'apparat critique toutes les fautes (omissions, interpolations, syriacismes, remaniements, contre-sens) qui lui sont spéciales: de cette profusion de variantes, je n'ai retenu que quelques spécimens, en même temps que toutes les leçons qui peuvent contribuer à fixer le texte de b, ou bien aider au classement des différentes versions. Chaque fois que P et A diffèrent, le syriaque et le copte sont cités, à moins qu'ils ne coïncident avec la leçon admise dans le texte. Je n'ai plus à répéter que toutes les variantes de Σ ont été déterminées par M. Kugener.

IV Rosweyde avait eu une copie d'une vie grecque de Paul de Thèbes, contenue dans un *ms. gr. Bavaricus*. Bollandus la traduisit en latin, édita cette traduction dans les *Acta Sanctorum* (Janvier, t. I, p. 603—604) [2]), et, contrairement à Rosweyde [3]), il émit l'avis que cette vie grecque devait être indépendante de la vie latine de saint Jérôme [4]). Les Bollandistes, au tome II de leurs

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1) Voir p. XIII.

2) Cette traduction fut réimprimée par Fuhrmann, *Acta Sincera Pauli Thebaei*, Neostadii Austriae, 1760, p. 1—5.

3) *Vitae Patrum*, Antverpiae, 1628, p. 16: „*Nam etsi in Bavarica bibliotheca quaedam graece exstent, quae cum Hieronymianis conveniunt, paucis exceptis, quae Hieronymus intermixta habet, ea tamen existimarim ex Latino Hieronymi textu post translata.*"

4) *Acta Sanct., loco laud.*, p. 602, § 6: „*Verum Rosweydo hic assentiri non possumus, cum graecae illius vitae scriptor, ab Antonio accepisse se quae de Paulo scribit testetur. Ita enim habet:* ἐν ἑτέρῳ δὲ ἐρήμῳ ὁ Ἀν-

Analecta, p. 561—563, publièrent le texte grec même
M (= M), mais sans la fin, la dernière feuille de la copie de Rosweyde ayant disparu.

Ce *ms. graecus Bavaricus* n'est peut-être que le *Monacensis* 276, du XIIe siècle, qui donne aux f. 94—97, un récit intitulé d'après Hardt *διήγησις τοῦ ὁσίου παύλου τοῦ θυβαίου καὶ ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀναχωρητοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐνδοτέρᾳ ἐρήμῳ*, et ayant le même *incipit* (*οὗτος ὁ μακάριος παῦλος ἦν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις*) que la vie traduite par *Bollandus* [1]).

Il ne serait plus possible, à présent que le texte de la traduction grecque de saint Jérôme est connu, de contester que M en dérive. Quelques rapprochements feront voir que cette filiation est absolument certaine:

a	M
P. 4, l. 10 s.: . . . *πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Θηβαΐδι ἡ ἐκκλησία πειρασμοὺς ὑπήνεγκεν. Καὶ πᾶς Χριστιανὸς* (*sic* T) *ἐσπούδαζεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ξίφει ἀναιρεθῆναι* . . .	*Anal. Boll.*, II 561, l. 6 sq.: *πολλοὺς πυρασμοὺς ὑπήνεγκεν, καὶ πᾶς Χριστιανὸς ἐσπούδαζεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ξίφει ἀνερεθῆναι.*
P. 6, l. 18 s. . . . . *ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀδελφῆς ἤδη συναφθείσης ἀνδρί, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πατέρων τελευτησάντων, καὶ ἐν εὐπορωτάτῃ κληρονομίᾳ ὁ Παῦλος καταλειφθείς, ἐτῶν περίπου*	*Τότε ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἦν μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀδελφῆς ἤδη συναφθήσης ἀνδρί. Τελευτήσαντος οὖν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν εὐπορωτάτῃ κληρονομίᾳ ὁ Παῦλος καταληφθείς, ἐξκαι-*

τώνιος διέτριβεν· ἐνθυμηθεὶς οὖν, ὡς αὐτός μοι διηγήσατο, μὴ εἶναι ἕτερον εἰς τὰ ἐνδότατα τῆς ἐρήμου, etc. — Les Bollandistes, *Anal. Bolland.*, II 561, lui donnent raison.

1) Hardt, *Catalogus cod. gr. bibl. reg. Bavar.*, t. III p. 155.

δέκα ἕξ, γράμμασί τε Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Αἰγυπτιακοῖς ἄκρως παιδευθείς, τῇ ψυχῇ πρᾶος (ὑπῆρχεν RT) ...	δέκατον ἔτος ἄγων, γράμμασί τε Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Αἰγυπτιακοῖς ἀκριβῶς παιδευθεὶς τῇ ψυχῇ πρᾶος ὑπῆρχε.

Et la ressemblance reste tout aussi frappante jusqu'aux dernières lignes du fragment publié par les Bollandistes:

P. 24, l. 18 sq.: Καὶ δὴ παραγενομένου αὐτοῦ, οἱ δύο μαθηταί ... ἀπαντήσαντες ἔφασκον· „Ποῦ τοσοῦτον χρόνον διῆγες, πάτερ;" (Αὐτὸς δὲ RT) ἀπεκρίνατο· „Οὐαί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ, τῷ ἐπίπλαστον μοναχοῦ ὄνομα ἐπικομιζομένῳ. Εἶδον Ἠλίαν, εἶδον Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ Παῦλον εἶδον (Παῦλον placé devant ἐν dans TUV)."	P. 563, l. 25 sq.: Καὶ δὴ παραγενομένου αὐτοῦ, οἱ δύο μαθηταὶ ἀπαντήσαντες αὐτῷ ἔφασκον· „Ποῦ σου τὸν χρόνον διέτριβες, πάτερ;" Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· „Οὐαί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτολῷ, τῷ ἐπίπλαστον μοναχοῦ ὄνομα ἐπικομιζομένου (*sic*)· ἴδον Ἠλίαν, ἴδον Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ ἀληθῶς Παῦλον ἴδον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ."

Comme on vient de le remarquer déjà sans doute, le manuscrit dont s'est servi l'auteur de la version M devait donner un texte assez voisin de la rédaction altérée et interpolée du *Taurinensis* T: 561, 13 εἰς τὸ καταχᾶν (?) τὴν κληρονομίαν = l'interpolation de RT 8, 6 — 561, 17 ὡς ἐν ἀδύτοις ἦν ἀναπαυόμενος καὶ = RT 8, 17 — 562, 7 ὑποστηρίζων = R (omis T) 12, 4 — 562, 19 ἔχαιρεν = RT 14, 17 — *ibid.*, 23 τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς = T 16, 19 — *ibid.*, 24 ὕαιναν = RT 16, 20 — *ibid.*, 29 M fait parler Paul au lieu d'Antoine, comme T 18, 9 [1]), etc.

Quant à l'addition μοι (ὡς αὐτός μοι διηγήσατο 562, 4,

1) Comme l'apparat critique reproduit toutes les variantes de T, celui que ces citations ne convaincraient pas, pourra facilement y ajouter d'autres rapprochements tout aussi probants.

cf. a 10, 16) dont Bollandus avait tiré ses conclusions, elle perd toute valeur. Il est assez intéressant de noter que *b* ajoute ἡμῖν au même endroit.

Pour ne pas encombrer l'apparat critique, M étant d'ailleurs publié dans un recueil assez répandu, je me suis dispensé de citer les variantes de ce manuscrit.

M. van den Ven m'a obligeamment communiqué une copie de la notice consacrée à Paul de Thèbes, à la date du 15 Janvier, dans le synaxaire de Sirmond [1]). Il est évident que cette notice dérive d'un manuscrit très voisin du *Bavaricus*; le début suffit à le montrer: Οὗτος ἦν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Δεκίου καὶ Οὐαλλεριανοῦ τῶν διωκτῶν, ὁρμώμενος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῆς κάτω Θηβαΐδος. ... C'est la même phrase qui sert d'introduction au récit dans le *Bavaricus* [2]).

V Dans ses *Acta sincera sancti Pauli Thebaei, Neostadii Austriae*, 1760 [3]), Fuhrmann, avec la collaboration du P. Khell, publia d'après le *Vindobonensis histor. gr.* XXXVIII, f. 237v—247 [4]), une vie grecque de Paul de
Φ Thèbes (Φ) qui commence par les mots (p. 6): Καὶ ζωγράφοις τῶν ἀρχετύπων ἐκεῖνα πρὸς μίμησιν ... et qui finit (p. 31): ὁ δὲ καὶ Παῦλον φημὶ καὶ Ἀντώνιον οὕτω λάμψαι διὰ βίου καταξιώσας αὐτὸς καὶ ἡμῖν παράσχοι ... αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν [5]). Le même texte se trouve dans

1) Voir sur ce synaxaire *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XIV p. 407 et s.

2) Il m'est impossible de citer et de classer ici toutes les vies abrégées des ménologes et des synaxaires grecs. J'en ai vu un certain nombre et je me suis assuré qu'aucune ne donne ou ne suggère des leçons meilleures que celles de nos manuscrits.

3) Les PP. Bollandistes m'ont rendu le service de me prêter l'exemplaire de cette monographie qu'ils possèdent dans leur bibliothèque.

4) Voir de Nessel, *Catalogus*, V, n° 38, p. 69. Ce *codex* parait être le même que le n°. 31 de Lambecius-Kollar (voir t. VIII, p. 682—734, où sont cités plusieurs extraits de la vie de Paul de Thèbes).

5) Comme nous l'avons vu déjà p. IV, Fuhrmann pensait que cette vie était antérieure à celle dont saint Jérôme est l'auteur. Mais son opinion n'a rien de sérieux.

de nombreux manuscrits hagiographiques [1]) et Nicéphore Kallistos Xanthopoulos doit l'avoir connu et utilisé dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique* [2]).

D'après le P. Delehaye aussi bien que d'après M. A. Ehrhard, cette vie aurait fait partie du recueil constitué par Syméon Métaphraste [3]).

Quoi qu'en ait pensé le premier éditeur de ce texte Φ, il dérive certainement de la vie latine composée par saint Jérôme, et, qui plus est, il en dérive par l'intermédiaire de la traduction grecque g [4]). L'auteur de ce remaniement n'a point, semble-t-il, voulu faire oeuvre personnelle, mais simplement rédiger une sorte de paraphrase; du moins il a conservé, avec a, des passages qui ne pouvaient demeurer que dans une vie donnée pour l'oeuvre d'un contemporain de Jérôme, si pas de Jérôme lui même: par exemple (p. 7 Fuhrmann, § 2): *Ἀντωνίου γὰρ ἔτι καὶ σήμερον οἱ φοιτηταὶ περιόντες ὑφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τάφου ἔτυχεν, αὐτοὶ βεβαιοῦσι* . . . — cf. plus loin, p. 13, § 9: *Ἵνα μηδενὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ἄπιστον δόξῃ, καὶ μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ*

1) Outre ceux de Rome et de Paris, je citerai ici pour mémoire et sans prétendre aucunement à être complet: le *Chisianus* R VII 49, le *Baroccianus* 183 (voir E. Rolland, *Une copie de la vie de saint Théodose*, Gand, 1898), le *Monacensis* 226, enfin un manuscrit de Halki (bibliothèque de l'école commerciale grecque de Chalcé) qui nous a été signalé par M. Boyens (n°. 17, f. 63).

2) Livre VII, chap. 13 (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.*, t. 145, col. 1232 C), Nicéphore donne une reproduction très libre d'un épisode emprunté à la vie grecque de Paul de Thèbes (voir ci-dessous p. 6). C'est par l'intermédiaire du texte de Fuhrmann qu'il le connait; comparer par exemple *ibid.* C: *καὶ ἱκανῶς αὐτὴν διαμασσησάμενος* avec le passage correspondant de Fuhrmann (p. 10, l. 25) et de la traduction grecque (ci dessous p. 6, l. 14 et suiv.).

3) Voir A. Ehrhard, *Die Legendensammlung des Symeon Metaphrastes und ihr ursprünglicher Bestand*, FESTSCHRIFT ZUM 1100JAEHRIGEN JUBILAEUM DES DEUTSCHEN CAMPO SANTO IN ROM, Fribourg en Br., 1897, p. 62, et Delehaye, *Les ménologes grecs*, ANAL. BOLLAND., XVI, p. 320. Cf. encore A. Ehrhard, *Hagiographische Forschungen*, et *Symeon Metaphrastes*, dans la RÖMISCHE QUARTALSCHRIFT, t. XI, p. 83 s et 531 s.

4) Voir p. VIII.

ἀνθρωπίνην δύναμιν, καὶ ἕτερόν τι μηδὲν ἔλαττον εἰς θαύματος λόγον, ὅπερ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐμοῖς εἶδον, ἐρῶ . . . etc.; cf. *Hier.* § 6 (ci-dessous, p. 10, 4 du texte) — etc.

Toutefois il supprime le nom de Jérôme dans la dernière tirade du morceau (p. 31): οὕτω δὲ τὸν Παῦλον Ἀντώνιος διὰ τιμῆς ἦγε etc.

Φ omet tout ce que a retranche au récit de Jérôme; et chaque fois que a s'écarte du texte latin soit par une variante, soit par quelque altération due à l'inhabileté du traducteur, Φ s'en écarte de la même manière.

Là où Φ semble ajouter à la narration a, on trouve des tirades qui ne coïncident nullement avec la vie latine originale, mais qui sont fournies ou bien par des réminiscences littéraires, ou bien par une faconde verbeuse, ou bien encore par le désir d'éviter une contradiction apparente [1]). Il lui arrive quelquefois aussi de remplacer des expressions obscures par d'autres, plus claires ou plus faciles, et même le cas échéant par d'intéressantes conjectures [2]).

Nous pouvons faire un pas de plus dans la découverte des sources de Φ: c'est d'une copie étroitement apparentée avec la source de T que cette vie dérive. Les rappro-

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1) Cf., par exemple, a p. 10, l. 2 s.: πάντα τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διήγαγεν, τροφὴν καὶ ἔνδυσιν ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων ἔχων et p. 20, l. 16: Ἑξήκοντα λοιπὸν ἔτη εἰσὶν ἐν οἷς ἡμίσεως ἄρτου κλάσματος μετεῖχον; Φ essaie de faire disparaître jusqu'à l'apparence d'un désaccord entre ces deux passages (p. 22): Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτε τοῦ κόσμου διέστησα ἐμαυτόν, ἐπὶ ὅλα τριάκοντα ἔτη, φοίνικες ἦσαν ἐμοὶ ἡ τροφή, ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, οὗτός μοι ὁ ὄρνις διάκονος τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ πεμπομένης μοι τροφῆς γίγνεται. Vers la fin, p. 30, il ajoute tout un détail: Antoine veut voir si le miracle du corbeau continuera à se produire après la mort du saint anachorète: ἔγνω μίαν καταμεῖναι ἡμέραν (cf. μεθ' ἡμέραν a, 32, 4). Ἵνα καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν κόρακα θαῦμα καλῶς διαγνῷ. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔτι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἧκεν ὁ τὴν συνήθη κομίζων τροφήν, οἷα τῇ μεταθέσει τοῦ Παύλου καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς λειτουργίας ἀπολυθείς, τότε καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἀντώνιος etc.

2) Voir par exemple ci dessous, p. 28, 7: ἀνηπταμένας *cod.*: ἀναπεπταμένας Φ (p. 27, l. 7 Fuhrmann).

chements suivants établiront cette filiation. J'ai bien dû les multiplier, afin d'offrir une démonstration tout-à-fait irréfutable. S'il restait malgré tout quelque doute dans l'esprit du lecteur, qu'il recoure à la vie elle même, il verra que j'aurais pu la citer ici tout entière.

Titre dans T: *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν παύλου τοῦ Θηβαίου, τοῦ πρὸ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ μεγάλου ἀσκήσαντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*: dans tous les autres manuscrits, les titres sont très différents (voir p. 2, notes); dans Φ: *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν παύλου τοῦ Θηβαίου.*

Comme nous l'avons déjà fait remarquer p. XX, note 1, les noms des deux disciples d'Antoine manquent (p. 2, l. 15) dans T, dont la leçon est évidemment fautive: *Ἅμα τοιγαροῦν καὶ οἱ μακάριοι μαθηταὶ Ἀντωνίου, ὑφ' ὧν ἐτάφη, ἔτι καὶ σήμερον διαβεβαιοῦνται Παῦλόν τινα τῶ γένει Θηβαῖον τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἔξαρχον γεγενῆσθαι.* Ces noms manquent également dans Φ, p. 7, l. 20: *Ἀντωνίου γὰρ ἔτι καὶ σήμερον οἱ φοιτηταὶ περιόντες, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τάφου ἔτυχεν, αὐτοὶ βεβαιοῦσι Παῦλόν τινα Θηβαῖον τοῦ πράγματός γε ἄρξαι.*

Si l'on compare ensuite au passage correspondant de saint Jérôme, § 3, le texte de a avec les variantes de l'apparat critique p. 4 et suiv., ainsi que la version de Φ (p. 9), on verra que celle-ci — qui est considérablement amplifiée — renferme le même contre-sens que T, et que ce contre-sens provient de l'omission des mots *ἕτερον νεανίαν.*

Hier.	a	T	Φ
§ 3 (col. 20 A): *quid igeret ...*	6, 11: Τί ἔδει ... διαπράττεσθαι	*Ibid.*: Τί οὖν ἔδει ... διαπράττεσθαι.	P. 10, l. 14: τί οὖν ἔδει ποιεῖν ...
Ibid.: linguam ...	6, 14: τὴν γλῶτταν	*Ibid.*: τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλῶτταν	P. 10, l. 24: τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλῶτταν
§ 4 (col. 20 B): *sororis maritus coepit prodere velle, quem celare debuerat.*	8, 5: τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦτον προδοῦναι ἐσπούδαζεν, ὃν διαφυλάττειν ὤφειλεν.	*Ibid.*: τῆς γὰρ ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦτον προδοῦναι ἐσπούδαζεν, βουλόμενος τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ κατασχεῖν, ὃν διαφυλάττειν ὤφειλεν.	P. 12, l. 21: Ὁρμησθεὶς (*sic*) γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ὁ ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ γαμβρὸς τοῖς τε κτήμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λοιπῷ πλούτῳ βασκήνας καὶ δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος εἰ μὴ πάντων αὐτὸς κύριος καταστῇ, οὐδ' ἐκεῖ γενόμενον χωρὶς ἀφῆκε πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἔσπευδεν αὐτὸν πάντα λίθον κινῶν τῷ τυράννῳ προδοῦναι, μὴ συγγενείας δεσμά, μὴ γυναικὸς δάκρυα, μὴ αὐ-
Non illum uxoris lacrymae, non communio sanguinis, non spectans	Καὶ δὴ οὐ τῆς γυναικὸς τὰ δάκρυα, οὐ τῆς συγγενείας ὁ θεσμός, οὐχ	Καὶ γὰρ οὐ τῆς γυναικὸς τὰ δάκρυα, οὐ τῆς συγγενείας ὁ θεσμός, οὐχ	

cuncta ex alto deus ab scelere revocavit. Aderat, instabat, crudelitate quasi pietate utebatur.	ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου διανοίας τοῦτον ἀνεκαλεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐπέμενεν, τὴν ὠμότητα ἀντὶ εὐσεβείας ἐπιτελεῖν σπουδάζων.	ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου διανοίας τοῦτον ἀνεκαλεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐπέμενεν, τὴν ὠμότητα καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν ἀντ' εὐσεβείας ἐπιτελεῖν σπουδάζων.	τὸν τὸν παντα εφορωντα θεόν, μὴ ἄλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ κέρδους ὁ μιαρὸς θέμενος.

Ce passage est caractéristique: l'addition de RT a servi de point de départ à l'amplification du rédacteur du texte Φ.

§ 6 (col. 21 B): *et vidisse me monachos, et videre, e quibus unus ...*	10, 7: ἑωρακέναι με μοναχοὺς ἐν οἷς εἷς ...	*Ibid.:* ἑωρακέναι με δύο μοναχούς· ἐν οἷς ὁ μὲν εἷς ...	p. 13, l. 26: δύο τινὰς ἑώρακα μοναχούς, ὧν ἄτερος μὲν ...
§ 7 (col. 22 A): *Sed ut ad id redeam unde digressus sum ...*	10, 13: Ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸ ἐπανέλθω ὅθεν καὶ ἠρξάμην, ...	*Ibid.:* Ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν τὸν θεσπέσιον Παῦλον ἀνέλθω ὅθεν καὶ ἠρξάμην. ...	p. 14: Ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον ἰτέον, ὁρμᾷ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἡ γλῶσσα τὰ ἐκείνου διεξιέναι, ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀκοὴν ἐγηγέρθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν ...

§ 8 (col. 23 B): *pro Deo*	16, 2: ἀντὶ τοῦ θεοῦ	*Ibid.*: ἀντὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος	p. 17, l. 28: ἀντὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος
§ 9 (col. 24 B): *et dubia adhuc luce, haud procul intuetur lupam, sitis ardoribus anhelantem, ad radicem montis irrepere.*	16, 20: πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ λύκαιναν ὁρᾷ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ὄρους μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἄσθματος ἀνερχομένην.	*Ibid.*: ὁρᾷ θηρίον ὕεναν λεγόμενον πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ὄρους μετὰ πολλοῦ ἄσθματος ἀνερχομένην.	p. 18, l. 28: ἐπῆρε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἰδοὺ θηρίον ὕαινα πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ τάχους καὶ τοῦ ἄσθματος ἀνιοῦσα ...
§ 9 (col. 25 A): *Tunc vero Antonius pro foribus corruens, usque ad sextam et eo amplius horam aditum precabatur dicens: Qui sim, unde, cur venerim, nosti. Scio me non mereri conspectum tuum ...*	18, 8: Τότε δὴ Ἀντώνιος πρὸ τῆς θύρας πεσών, ἄχρις ἕκτης ἢ πλείονος ὥρας τὴν εἴσοδον ἠξίου, „τίς εἰμι, λέγων, πόθεν καὶ διὰ τί ἐλήλυθα ⟨οἶδας⟩. Οἶδα ἐμαυτὸν ἀνάξιον τῆς θέας σου...	*Ibid.*: Τότε ὁ μακάριος Ἀ. πρὸ τῆς θύρας πεσών, ἄχρις ἕκτης ἢ καὶ πλείονος ὥρας τὴν εἴσοδον ἠξίου. Ὁ δὲ τίς εἴη, λέγων, καὶ πόθεν, καὶ διὰ τί ἐλήλυθας; Ἔφη ὁ Ἀ.· ἅγιε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐμαυτὸν οἶδα ἀνάξιον τῆς θέας σου ...	p. 19, l. 19: ... πρὸς τῇ εἰσόδῳ ἑαυτὸν τῇ γῇ καταβάλλει καὶ ἦν οὗτος ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ κείμενος ἄχρι μέσης ἡμέρας ἢ καὶ ἤδη κλινούσης, τὴν εἴσοδον ἀνῳχθῆναι μετριοπαθῶς αἰτούμενος. Ταύτῃ τοι καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος πεῖράν τινα προσάγειν ἐθέλων, ἠρώτα τίς εἴη·

καὶ ποῦεν καὶ οτου χάριν ἐνταῦθα, φησίν, ἐλήλυθας; Τοῦ δὲ αὐτά τε διασαφήσαντος καὶ προσθέντος ὅτι περ· οἶδα μὲν ἐμαυτόν, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς σῆς ἀνάξιον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ θέας καὶ ὁμιλίας.

Encore une fois, les amplifications de Φ ont pour point de départ les leçons fautives de l'archétype de T.

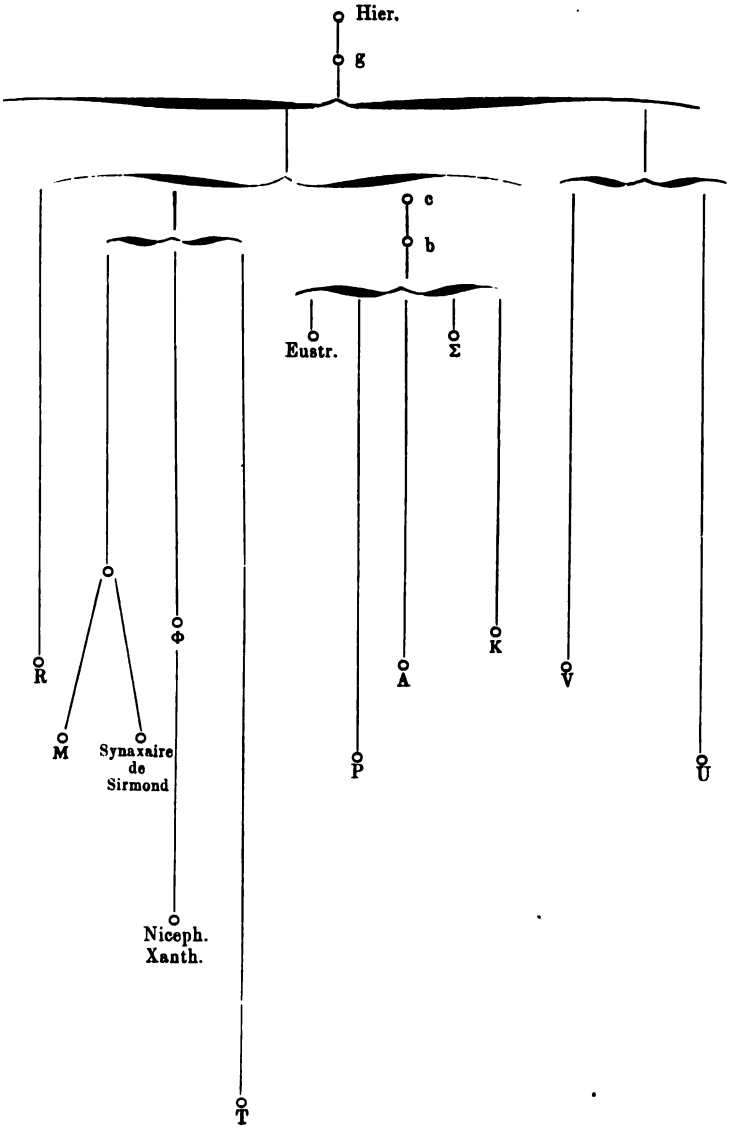
§ 10 (25 B): *suspiciunt alitem corvum in ramo arboris consedisse ...*	20, 11: *ὁρῶσιν ὄρνεον κόρακα ἐν κλάδῳ φυτοῦ καθεζόμενον ...*	*Ibid.*: *ὁρῶσιν ὄρνεον κόρακα λεγόμενον ἐν κλάδῳ φυτοῦ καθεζόμενον καὶ ἄρτον ἐπὶ στόματος φέροντα ...*	p. 21, l. 25: *κόραξ ὄρνις αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαίνεται, κλάδῳ μὲν φυτοῦ τινος ἐπικαθεζόμενος, ἄρτον δὲ ὑγιᾶ καὶ ὁλόκληρον ἐπὶ στόματος φέρων.*

Ici, c'est une interpolation de T que nous retrouvons dans Φ.

§ 11 (25 D): *olim te, frater, in istis regionibus habitare sciebam.*	22, 9: πάλαι σε, ἀδελφέ, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ κατοικεῖν ᾔδειν.	*Ibid.*: πάλαι σε, ἀδελφέ, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ κατοικεῖν ἔδει.	p. 23, l. 12: πάλαι, λέγων, ὦ θαυμαστὲ Ἀντώνιε, ἐν ταύτῃ σε τῇ περιχώρῳ κατοικεῖν ἔδει.
§ 12 (26 A): *expedit tibi, sarcina carnis abiecta, agnum sequi: sed et caeteris expedit fratribus, ut tuo adhuc instituantur exemplo.*	24, 2: συμφέρει γάρ σοι τὸ ἄχθος τῆς σαρκὸς ἀποθέσθαι· ἀλλὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ συμφέρει ἀδελφοῖς, ἵνα σου μιμηταὶ γένωνται.	*Ibid.*: οὐ συμφέρει γάρ σοι τὸ ἄχθος τῆς σαρκὸς ἀποθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ συμφέρει σοι ἵνα οἱ λοιποί σου ἀδελφοὶ μιμηταί σου γένωνται.	p. 23, l. 36: οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν συμφέρον σε νῦν τὸ ἄχθος τῆς σαρκὸς ἀποθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ στηριχθῆναι δεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ἀδελφῶν διὰ σοῦ, ὥστε ἐφαμίλλους σοι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἴσους τὴν ἀρετὴν γενέσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἀγαπῆσαι τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν.
§ 12 (26 B): *quod postea a Saracenis occupatum est . . .*	24, 16: ὅπερ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν διηρπάσθη.	*Ibid.*: om. T.	p. 24, l. 27: om. Φ.

etc., etc.

C'est un *stemma* qui résumera le mieux les résultats ces longues recherches, en faisant voir par quels intermédiaires toutes les vies de Paul de Thèbes remontent qu'à l'oeuvre de saint Jérôme.



De même que, pour Antoine, le vrai fondateur du monachisme, la première place dans toute la littérature hagiographique que nous possédons revient à la vie d'Athanase, écrite en 357 ou 365 [1]), et presque immédiatement traduite en latin par Évagrius d'Antioche († 393) [2]), de même, pour Paul de Thèbes, Jérôme a composé la première vie, celle dont dérivent toutes les autres [3]). Et ce qui le poussa à composer ce récit, ce fut sans doute l'exemple et le succès de l'évêque d'Alexandrie [4]).

Jérôme composa cette vie surtout à l'usage des humbles et des simples [5]): c'était d'ailleurs au milieu d'humbles et de simples qu'il vivait alors, dans les solitudes du désert de Chalcis, la Thébaïde de la Syrie, et il ne devait pas imposer à ses pensées un violent effort, pour les mettre d'accord avec celles du public d'ascètes, „pauvres d'esprit", auxquels il destinait son oeuvre. Et pourtant le rhéteur, l'ancien élève du grammairien Donat, ne sut pas oublier ses réminiscences classiques. Il emploie des vers de Virgile pour nous faire voir Antoine arrêté

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1) Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, p. 288; — cf. Pauly-Wissowa, au mot *Athanasios*, 1, (vol. II 2, col. 1938). — Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*, 1897 (ouvrage que je n'ai pu consulter). Butler, *The lausiac history of Palladius*, p. 226.

2) Cf. *De viris illustribus*, s. v. Evagrius (§ CXXV): *Evagrius, Antiochiae episcopus, ... vitam quoque beati Antonii de graeco Athanasii in sermonem nostrum transtulit.*" — Cf. le prologue de cette traduction latine, *Athanasii opera*, Paris, 1698, I 792.

3) Cf. *Vita Pauli Thebaei* § 1 (Patr. Lat. XXIII, 18 A): „... *magis quia res omissa erat, quam fretus ingenio.*"

4) Cf. *Vita Pauli Thebaei* § 1 (PL XXIII, 18 A): „*Igitur quia de Antonio tam graeco quam romano stylo diligenter memoriae traditum est ....*" — Jérôme imite plus d'une fois le récit de son devancier (voir les rapprochements notés dans le commentaire de Fuhrmann, *l. l.*, p. 63 s.). L'épilogue de Jérôme ressemble un peu, pour la forme, à celui du traducteur latin de la vie d'Antoine (*Athanasii opera*, Paris, 1698, I 866): „*itaque prudentes, qui legere voluerint hanc scripturam, obsecramus ut dent veniam ...*" Cf. Jérôme, *l. l.*, § 18.

5) Voir le texte cité ci-dessous, p. XLIII.

devant la caverne dont Paul l'ermite lui refuse l'entrée, et les démons qui apparaissent dans ce récit ont la forme de satyres et de centaures. Il est vrai, Jérôme se rappelle ce qu'il doit à l'ignorance de ses lecteurs: il explique que l'hippocentaure tient de l'homme et du cheval, et, en décrivant le satyre, il ne néglige pas de dire qu'il a des cornes sur le front et des pieds de chèvre.

Jérôme se rendit compte lui-même de tout ce qu'il avait laissé de littérature dans un écrit fait pour des illettrés [2]). Poursuivi jusque dans ses rêves par la crainte d'être un Cicéronien plutôt qu'un Chrétien [3]), il était loin de s'abuser sur son impuissance à échapper à ses hantises littéraires, et à propos de la vie même de Paul de Thèbes, il en fait spirituellement l'aveu, en termes empruntés à Horace, dans une lettre qu'il écrivit à son ami Paul de Concordia pour lui offrir un exemplaire de cet opuscule:

„*Misimus interim te tibi, id est Paulo seni Paulum seniorem, in quo propter simpliciores quosque multum in deiiciendo sermone laboravimus. Sed, nescio quomodo, etiamsi aqua plena sit, tamen eundem odorem lagena servat, quo, dum rudis esset, imbuta est* [4]).''

C'est peut-être du vivant de saint Jérôme déjà qu'un traducteur (Sophronios?) mit le récit en grec, de façon qu'il pût se répandre, et répandre avec lui le goût du monachisme, aussi bien en Orient qu'en Occident, à l'exemple de la vie de saint Antoine, dont il était pour

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1) § 9 (col. 25 A) et *En.* II 650 et VI 672. — Cf. encore § 4 (*ibid.*, col. 20 B), et *En.*, III 56.

2) Cf. encore § 4, à la fin: *aderat, instabat*, etc. ... et Florus, III chap. 5 — § 11 à la fin: *imo terrae terram reddas*'' et Cicéron, *Tusculanes*, III 25 (d'après Euripide, fr. 757, v. 5).

3) Cf. *Patrol. lat.*, t. XXII, col. 416, le récit de la vision fameuse où Jérôme se vit flageller pour avoir préféré Cicéron à la bible.

4) *Ibid.*, col. 344. Cf. Horace, *Epîtres*, I, 2, v. 69—70: „*Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu.*''

ainsi dire la contre partie. Nous avons vu avec quel soin la traduction fut faite et jusqu'à quel point elle est fidèle [1]).

L'état de la tradition manuscrite ne nous permet pas de décider si les coupes pratiquées dans les fleurs de la rhétorique de saint Jérôme, sont dues à ce premier traducteur (g), ou bien à l'auteur d'une des copies. Dans tous les cas, déjà dans l'archétype le plus ancien dont nous pouvons reconstituer le texte, la plupart des ornements de la prose latine, avec les réminiscences de Virgile ou de Florus, avaient disparu [2]).

Cette vie grecque de Paul de Thèbes n'eut pas dès le début, semble-t-il, le même succès que beaucoup d'autres. Elle paraît ignorée des historiens de l'Église, qui par contre connaissent et mentionnent l'émule de Paul, saint Antoine. Nous apprenons même par les premières lignes de la vie d'Hilarion, qu'il y eut des sceptiques parmi les lecteurs de la vie latine de saint Jérôme [3]). Toutefois la traduction grecque ne dut point tarder beaucoup à se répandre. Ce fut sans doute avant le VIe siècle déjà que se formèrent la plupart des versions grecque, copte et syriaque dont des copies nous sont conservées [4]).

Comme nous avons eu déjà l'occasion de le faire remarquer, les enjolivements littéraires de la narration ne furent point ce que tous les lecteurs préférèrent. Dans une partie considérable de la tradition manuscrite, les ornements du récit s'éliminèrent de plus en plus, à mesure que le texte passait d'un copiste à un autre. Celui qui

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1) Voir pag. VI et suiv.

2) Voir p. XXV ce que nous avons dit de ces omissions.

3) *Patrol. Lat.*, XXIII, 29 B: „... *ut qui semper latuit, non fuisse ... existimetur.*"

4) Un des manuscrits syriaques est du VI—VIIe siècle (voir p. XV). Eustratios cite déjà la version b (voir p. XIV). Or cette version paraît dériver de l'archétype du groupe RT (voir p. XXVI).

fit l'édition (b) dont dérivent les vies écrites en copte et en syriaque, alla même très loin dans son travail d'adaptation, ou, si l'on veut, de vulgarisation à l'usage du public des monastères, morcelant les longues périodes en phrases courtes et faciles, multipliant le discours direct, évitant les mots pompeux et les pensées compliquées, écartant les tirades destinées à convaincre les incrédules, parce qu'elles étaient superflues pour ses lecteurs, enfin donnant à son récit par d'assez nombreux vulgarismes, la forme même d'une narration populaire. Enfin, le manuscrit de Patmos (A) et le *Parisinus* 914 (P) représentent une phase encore plus avancée de ce travail de simplification [1]).

Le résultat de ce remaniement est un récit dont la naïveté et le charme ont séduit certains lecteurs modernes. „En fait de beauté littéraire et de composition, dit M. Amélineau, il faudrait placer l'oeuvre copte avant son original latin [2])." Voilà donc une production très intéressante, que le goût de plus d'une époque a préférée à la composition de Jérôme, et qui n'est guère que le résidu d'éliminations successives, opérées par quelques scribes anonymes, et imposées par les exigences d'un public plus obscur encore. Si de telles constatations pouvaient devenir fréquentes, il serait presque aisé d'écrire une histoire des littératures en mettant à l'arrière plan le rôle des littérateurs.

A côté de ces remaniements très libres, il nous est resté une famille nombreuse de manuscrits, où le texte

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1) D'après le P. Sicard, on possédait au commencement du XVIIIe siècle encore, au couvent de Paul de Thèbes, fondé sur l'emplacement de la grotte du premier anachorète, et qui aurait existé déjà en 400 (Butler, *l. l.*, p. 232), une tradition sur le miracle des deux *tigres* (au lieu des lions de Jérôme), creusant la fosse du saint; l'épisode était même représenté sur les murs de la chapelle (Voir Fuhrmann, p. 220 et 230).

2) *Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. XXV, p. V.

de la traduction grecque primitive a été plus exactement conservé. Le *Vossianus* L d'une part, les deux *Vaticani* UV de l'autre nous montrent que cette traduction fut encore copiée, presque sans modifications, jusqu'au XIIe siècle.

Toutefois, même dans cette famille, il s'est produit une version altérée, celle du groupe RT. Seulement ici, au lieu d'écourter le texte, on l'a plutôt augmenté, tantôt d'un développement oiseux, le plus souvent d'épithètes édifiantes. R nous représente une première phase de ce travail d'amplification, T une seconde. Le texte édité par Fuhrmann est le remaniement le plus libre, presque une paraphrase. Il rend au centuple à la vie du solitaire, tout ce que les premiers copistes lui avaient enlevé de rhétorique, et l'oeuvre ne fait d'ailleurs que perdre au change. Ce morceau est digne de Métaphraste [1]), c'est dire s'il peut soutenir la comparaison avec le récit de saint Jérôme. La narration s'enrichit en même temps de quelques détails nouveaux, déjà signalés [2]).

A part ces quelques inventions sans importance, il n'est d'ailleurs aucun élément de la légende de Paul de Thèbes qui ne remonte jusqu'à saint Jérôme lui-même.

D'autre part, cette même famille RT a donné naissance à une version abrégée (M), et — coïncidence intéressante — les omissions sont justement les mêmes, ou à peu près, que dans le récit populaire du manuscrit copte et du *codex Patmiacus*. De plus, cette version M a donné lieu à la même méprise: comme M. Amélineau, Bollandus [3]) crut avoir trouvé une narration antérieure à saint Jérôme lui-même.

Bien que ces vies de Paul de Thèbes dérivent toutes

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1) Voir sur les remaniements de Métaphraste une page très intéressante de M. Ehrhard, dans l'article déjà cité (*Festschrift* etc., voir p. XXXIII, n. 3), p. 80 s.

2) Voir p. XXXIV.

3) Voir page XXIX.

d'un texte connu, j'ai cru rendre service en les publiant avec les leçons des principales copies. D'abord l'éditeur futur de la *vita Pauli Thebaei* aura grand intérêt à connaître le témoignage d'une traduction qui a été faite peut-être du vivant même de saint Jérôme. Elle pourra l'aider à juger de la valeur de ses manuscrits et à classer les variantes, qui sont nombreuses et d'un choix souvent embarrassant. Voici à titre d'exemples quelles étaient probablement, dans quelques passages caractéristiques, les leçons, souvent excellentes, du manuscrit latin dont l'auteur de g s'est servi [1]): § 1, col. 17, note c = p. 2,8 du texte grec: *propheta* omis — § 3, col. 19, note g = 6, 11 et 12: *nesciebat* omis — § 4, col. 20, note j = 8, 3: διῆγεν = *habitabat* ou *manebat* (?) — *ibid.*, note k = 8, 7 *ut assolet* manque — § 6, col. 21, note f = 10, 9 et 11: *vivit . . . sustentatur* — § 7, col. 22, note i = 10, 18: *perfectum* omis — *ibid.: monachorum* — *ibid.* = 12, 2: *properare* — *ibid.*, note j = 12, 8: *servum suum* — § 8, l. 18 = 14, 13: *quem in* omis — *ibid.*, col. 24, note e = 16, 5 *et tu pro deo portenta veneraris* omis — § 10, col. 25, note d = 20, 12 *qui inde leniter subvolans integrum* — § 13, col. 26, note j = 24, 19: *qui ei longo iam tempore* — § 15, l. 4 = 28, 5: *videt* — § 16, l. 7 = 28, 18: *quatridui* — col. 27, note e = 28, 19: *moriar et ego* — *ibid.*, note g = 30, 7: *ut ille animadverteret*, etc., etc.

L'historien de la langue grecque aura maint renseignement à tirer de cette traduction littérale d'un texte latin, composée peut être vers la fin de IVème siècle, ainsi que des divers remaniements que lui ont fait subir des copistes peu lettrés.

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1) Je renvoie pour chaque passage aux notes de la *Patrologie latine*, t. XXIII, col. 17 ss., où les variantes des manuscrits sont indiquées sommairement. Il va de soi d'ailleurs que cette liste n'est qu'un relevé provisoire et sujet à caution, les données dont je dispose pour connaître les variantes du latin de Jérôme étant elles mêmes peu sûres.

Enfin, la connaissance du syriaque [1]), à coup sûr aussi celle du copte — à en juger par les hésitations fréquentes d'un spécialiste des plus compétents [2]) — pourront gagner beaucoup grâce à la publication de ces textes. On verra qu'en plus d'un endroit, en se servant de la version b comme guide, il sera possible d'améliorer le premier projet de traduction française, proposé dans le tome XXV des *Annales du Musée Guimet.*

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1) Voir les conclusions de M. Kugener, p. XXVIII, note 1.

2) Voir par ex. *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXV: p. 5, note 8, il y a un contre sens que le texte grec 15, 12 *ἐπορεύθη τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ* (= *τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν διανύων* a) eût fait éviter; p. 12, note 6: M. Amélineau eût été peut-être moins embarrassé, s'il avait connu la version grecque (p. 29, l. 13): *δίκελλαν ἢ πέλεκυν*; — etc.

ΒΙΟΣ

ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ

ΤΟΥ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΥ

τινα Θηβαῖον τοῦ πράγματος τούτου ἔξαρχον γεγενῆσθαι. Καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ τούτου πεπληροφορήμεθα.

Τοιγαροῦν ἐπειδὴ Ἀντωνίῳ οὐ μόνον ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ φωνὴ μεμαρτύρηκεν, βραχέα τινὰ Παύλου τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ τέλους γράψαι ἐσπούδασα· ὅπως ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἐβίωσεν, ἢ τίνας ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ὑπήνεγκεν πειρασμούς, λανθάνει τοὺς πλείονας.

2. — Ἐπὶ Δεκίου καὶ Βαλλεριανοῦ τῶν διωκτῶν, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ Κορνήλιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κυπριανὸς ἐν Καρταγέννῃ μακαρίως ἐτελειοῦντο, πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Θηβαΐδι ἡ ἐκκλησία πειρασμοὺς ὑπήνεγκεν. Καὶ πᾶς Χριστιανῶν ἐσπούδαζεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ξίφει ἀναιρεθῆναι. Ἀλλ' ὁ ἐχθρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας οὐ τὰ σώματα ἀλλὰ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναιρεῖν ἐβούλετο.

3. — Τοιγαροῦν ἐπιμένοντος ἐν τῇ πίστει ἁγίου τινὸς μάρτυρος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ξύλῳ καὶ ταῖς βασάνοις νικῶντος, προσετάττετο μέλιτι περιχρισθεὶς δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ διακαεῖ ἡλίῳ τῶν χειρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτον δεδεμένων ἀποκεῖσθαι· δηλαδὴ ὅπως τῶν μυιῶν τοῖς κέντροις εἴξῃ ὃς πεπυρωμένοις τηγάνοις οὐχ ἡττᾶται.

Ἕτερον νεανίαν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνθοῦντα,

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1 τινα τῶ γένει θηβαῖον τούτου τοῦ T — τούτου] του V — 2 καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ RTUV — τοῦτο L — 3 τοιγαροῦν] τὸ παρὸν UV: πρὸς τὸ παρὸν RT, — ἐπειδήπερ RTUV — ἀλλὰ et 4 ἡ om. R — 4 φωνὴ om. L — διὰ τοῦτο μικρά τινα καὶ βραχέα περὶ Παύλου τοῦ μακαρίου T — 5 ἐσπούδακα T — 6 ὅπως γὰρ RTUV — 7 λανθάνειν R — 8 καὶ] γὰρ καὶ L: τοίνυν καὶ T — βαλεριανοῦ UV — τῶν διωκτῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας T — 9 καὶ κυπριανὸς T — καρταγένει L: καρθαγένει T: χαρταγέννη RUV — 10 θηβαΐδη UR — 11 χριστιανὸς T — 12 τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ ξίφει T — 13 ἀλλὰ] μᾶλλον ἡ T — 14 ἠβούλετο R — 15 ἐν τῇ πίστει om. RT — 17 προσειγάγετο U — μέλι T — περιχρισθῆναι RT — διόλου cod. — 18 καὶ ἐν T — 19 βαλλόμενος post κέντροις add. T — ἥξῃ L: εἴξει V: ἥξει RTU — 20 ὃσ] ὡσ L: ὁδὲ ὡσ T: ὥσπερ R — τηγάνοις οὐχ] βέλεσι τιτρωσκόμενος οὐδ' ὅλως T — τηγάνοις om. V — post τηγάνοις add. ὁδὲ L, add. καὶ R — οὐκ R — ἡττῆται UV: ἡττήθη RT — 21 ἕτερον νεανίαν om. T — αὐτῇ τῇ om. V

5

Παῦλόν τινα Θηβαῖον τὸν προκαταρξάμενον ταύτης τῆς ἐν ἐρήμῳ διαγωγῆς. Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τούτῳ ἐπιστώθημεν.

Ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες τὸν Ἀντώνιον πρῶτον εἶναί φασιν, κἀγὼ σπουδὴν ἐθέμην ὀλίγα διηγήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀναχωρητοῦ, ὅτι πῶς ἀρξάμενος ἐτελείωσεν. 5

Ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ καιρῷ Δεκίου τοῦ διώκτου καὶ Οὐαλλεριανοῦ· ὁ Κορνίλιος ἐτελείωσεν τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ.

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1 *que l'abba Paul, l'homme du midi* K — 2 καὶ ... 3 φασιν] *et nous, en cela nous avons cru, que ce n'est pas le bienheureux Antoine qui est le premier, comme le disent quelques uns, mais Paul: c'est pourquoi* etc. Σ — 3 τινες τὸν Ἀντώνιον] διαντώνιον A — πρῶτον om. P — 4 περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναχωρητοῦ Παύλου P: *au sujet du solitaire Paul* Σ — 5 τελείωσεν A — 6 ἐγένετο οὖν A: *or il arriva* K

ἐν κήπῳ διηνθισμένῳ προσέταττεν ἄγεσθαι. Κἀκεῖσε μεταξὺ τῆς λαμπρότητος τῶν κρίνων τοῦ τε ἄνθους τῶν ῥόδων, ἡσύχως παραρρέοντος ὕδατος, ἁπαλῶς τε ὑποσυριζόντων τῶν φύλλων, ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς ἁπαλῆς ὕπτιον ἁπαλοῖς καταδήσαν-
5 τες δεσμοῖς κατέλιπον. Ἁπάντων τε ἀναχωρούντων, πόρνη τις εὐειδὴς ἐλθοῦσα ἤρξατο ἁπαλῶς περιλαμβάνειν τὸν τράχηλον καί, ὅπερ λέγειν ἐστὶν μῦσος, ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κεκρυμμένα κρατεῖν, ἵνα τοῦ σώματος εἰς ἡδυπάθειαν κινηθέντος νίκην ἑαυτῇ περιποιήσηται ἡ ἀναίσχυν-
10 τος ἀσέμνως παρελθοῦσα.

Τί ἔδει τὸν στρατιώτην χριστοῦ διαπράττεσθαι; τί δὲ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ βασάνων μὴ νικηθέντα, καὶ μέλλοντα νικᾶσθαι ὑπὸ ἡδυπαθείας; Καὶ δὴ οὐρανόθεν ἐμπνευσθείς, δήγματι τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκκόψας ἀντὶ φιλήματος τῇ ὄψει
15 ταύτης προσέπτυσεν, καὶ οὕτως τῆς ἡδυπαθείας τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξέκοπτεν διὰ τοῦ περὶ τὸν πόνον μεγέθους.

4. — Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοιγαροῦν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τοιαῦτα διεπράττοντο, εἰς τὴν κατωτέρω Θηβαΐδα ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀδελφῆς ἤδη συναφθείσης ἀνδρί,
20 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πατέρων τελευτησάντων, καὶ ἐν εὐπορωτάτῃ κληρονομίᾳ ὁ Παῦλος καταλειφθείς, ἐτῶν περίπου δέκα ἕξ,

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1 ὅθεν μετὰ ταῦτα ante ἐν add. T — αὐτὸν ante ἄγεσθαι add. T — μεταξὺ om. RT — 2 τῆς τῶν κρίνων λαμπρότητος T — 3 ἡσύχως τε T — 4 ἐπὶ om. UV — καταδήσαντας U: καταδεσμήσαντες T — 5 κατέλειπον RT: καταλειπῶν UV — ἁπάντων δὲ ἀναχωρησάντων οἴκαδε T — πόρνη] πονηρά RTUV — 6 καὶ ἀκόλαστος γυνὴ ante εὐειδὴς add. T — ἁπαλῶς καὶ θωπευτικῶς προσέρχεσθαι T — περιλαμβάνουσα RTUV — 7 καὶ ... μῦσος] αὐτοῦ καὶ καταφιλοῦσα πυκρῶς (πυκνῶς?). τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ὅπερ καὶ λέγειν μῦσος ἐστὶν T — 8 κρατοῦσα cod.; correxi — κρ. μέλη ἵνα τοῦ πάθους εἰς T — 9 ποιήσηται UV — 10 προσελθοῦσα RTUV — post προσελθοῦσα add. ἐδράττετο καὶ κατεφίλη T — 11 τί οὖν T — τοῦ χριστοῦ T: κυρίου L — τί δὲ ... 12 νικηθέντα om. T — 13 ὑπὸ ἡδυπαθείας νικᾶσθαι RT — καὶ δὴ om. T — 14 τὴν γλῶσσαν L: τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλῶτταν T — 15 αὐτῆς RTUV — προσέπτυσεν ... τῆς om. T — τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν] πάθος T — 16 προσέκοπτεν RUV: προσέκοψε T — 17 τοιγαροῦν] τοίνυν T — τοιαῦτα καὶ χείρονα τούτων ἐπράττοντο T — 18 κατωτέρα T: κατωτέραν RUV — 20 πατέρων] γονέων V — 21 ὁ μέγας Παῦλος T — δέκα καὶ ἕξ U: εἴκοσι L

Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παῦλος ἦν συνοικῶν τῇ ὁμογνησίᾳ ἀδελφῇ, οὔσης αὐτῆς ὑπάνδρου, τετελευτηκότων ἤδη τῶν γονέων αὐτῶν καὶ καταλειψάντων αὐτοῖς πλοῦτον πολύν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ

1 συνοικῶν ... ἀδελφῇ] ἐν οἴκῳ τινὸς ὁμοζύγου ἀδελφῆς A — ὁμογνησίᾳ deest in KΣ — 2 ἤδη deest in Σ — 3 αὐτοῖς] αὐτῶν A

γράμμασί τε Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Αἰγυπτιακοῖς ἄκρως παιδευθείς, τῇ ψυχῇ πρᾶος, ὑπερβαλλόντως τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπῶν, ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ διωγμοῦ, ἐν ἰδιάζοντι χωρίῳ διῆγεν.

Ἀλλὰ τί τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ πλεονεξία πράττειν ἀθέμιτα οὐκ ἀναγκάζει; Τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦτον προδοῦναι ἐσπούδαζεν, ὃν διαφυλάττειν ὤφειλεν. Καὶ δὴ οὐ τῆς γυναικὸς τὰ δάκρυα, οὐ τῆς συγγενείας ὁ θεσμός, οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου διανοίας τοῦτον ἀνεκαλεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐπέμενεν, τὴν ὠμότητα ἀντὶ εὐσεβείας ἐπιτελεῖν σπουδάζων.

5. — Καὶ δὴ τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ αὐτοῦ ὁ συνετὸς νεανίας προσσχών, εἰς ἐρήμους ὀρέων τόπους καταφεύγων, ὡς τοῦ διωγμοῦ τὸ πέρας προσεδέχετο, τὴν ἀνάγκην εἰς προαίρεσιν μετῆγεν.

Καὶ καταβραχὺ προκόπτων, εὗρεν πετρῶδες ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ σπήλαιον ἦν βραχυτάτῳ λίθῳ περικλειόμενον· ὃν ἀποκυλίσας κατὰ τὸ περίεργον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀκορέστως τὰ ἐνδοτάτω περιειργάζετο. Καὶ δὴ ὁρᾷ ἔνδον πηγὴν καθαρωτάτην σφόδρα.

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2 ὑπῆρχεν post πρᾶος add. RT — ἀγαπων τὸν θεὸν RTUV — 3 ἀγμάζοντος UV — οὖν τοῦ R: δὲ τοῦ T — χωρίῳ] χρόνω UV — 4 τί om. RT — ἀφελεστέρων post τῶν add. RT — διαπράττην V: καὶ πράττειν T — 5 ἀθεμήτως UV — οὐκ om. LRT — ἀναγκάζει] παρασκευάζει RT — γὰρ add. post τῆς LRT — 6 βουλόμενος τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ κατασχεῖν post ἐσπούδαζεν add. RT — 7 δὴ] γὰρ T: om. L — θεσμοὺς V — 9 καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν post ὠμότητα add. T — ἀντ' εὐσ. T — 10 σπουδάζων ἐπιτελεῖν U — 11 τὰ ἔνεδρα L — τῇ πονηρᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐνέδρᾳ T — προσχὼν LUV: προσέχων RT; correxi — 12 ἔρημον V: ἐρήμων RTU — καταφυγὼν LRT — ὡς] ὃς UV: om. LRT; correxi — 13 καὶ ante τὴν add. L — ἀνάγκην] ἀχμὴν U — 14 μετάγων RT — 16 ὃν om. L — τοίνυν post ἀποκυλίσας add. L — 17 κατὰ] κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ὡς ἐν ἀδύτοις ἦν ἐπαναπαυόμενος καὶ κατὰ RT — ἀποκορέστως T — ἐνδοτάτωι L: ἐνδότατα T — 18 περιηργάζετο RU: περιεργάζετο TV — ἔνδον ὁρᾷ L

Παῦλος ὡς ἐτῶν δέκα ἕξ, παιδευόμενος Ἑλληνικοῖς τε καὶ Αἰγυπτιακοῖς γράμμασιν, πραΰς ὑπάρχων τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν θεὸν σφόδρα. Τοῦ δὲ διωγμοῦ ἰσχύσαντος, καταμόνας διέτριβεν ἔν τινι τόπῳ, προσέχων ἑαυτῷ ἐπιμελῶς.

Ἡ δὲ πλεονεξία ἐκβιάζεται τὴν διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων κακοεργεῖν. Ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ, ἀντὶ τοῦ σκέπειν αὐτόν, ἠγωνίζετο τοῦ παραδοῦναι αὐτόν· τῶν δακρύων τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ μὴ φροντίσας καὶ τὸ κρῖμα τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος θεοῦ παραλογισάμενος, οὐκ ἀπέστη τῆς ἀδικίας ταύτης, ἀλλ' ἐπέμενεν τοῦ θανατῶσαι αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν θεοσέβειαν αὐτοῦ.

Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ συνετὸς νεώτερος τὴν ἐνέδραν ἐκείνου, κατέδραμεν εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλόν, τὴν ἐπήρειαν σκοπῶν, ἀντικαταλλάξας τῇ ἰδίᾳ προθέσει τοῦ διωγμοῦ τὴν ἀνάγκην.

Κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προκόψας, εὗρεν πέτραν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔχουσαν τρυμαλιὰν πεφραγμένην λίθῳ. Καὶ κυλίσας αὐτόν, ἐνέβλεπεν ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ πολλῇ. Καὶ ἐρευνῶν εἶδεν καθαρὸν τὸ ἔδαφος.

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1 ὡς om. A, et, ut vid., KΣ — 2 πραΰς ... 11, 12 ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐρήμῳ deest in K („*lacune d'un folio; je crois qu'il y avait plus d'un feuillet*" Amélineau) — 3 τοῦ δὲ διωγμοῦ ... 7 κακοεργεῖν] ἐν τούτοις οὖν διαιτόμενος ὁ Παῦλος A — 6 ἐκβιάζεται] ἐκάζεται, βι super κά scripto P: cf.: *mais la cupidité, qui force le genre humain à faire le mal, ne le laissa pas tranquille* Σ — 7 ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ... 12 αὐτοῦ] ἠβουλήθη ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἀγάγαι αὐτὸν εἰς γάμον· τοῦτο δὲ μαθὼν ὁ παῦλος, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ φρίξας τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐφορῶντος θεοῦ, παραλογισάμενος τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην, ἐπυνθάνετο τί ἂν εἴη ταῦτα A — 10 πάντα ἐφορῶντος deest in Σ — 11 ... 12] *mais il persévéra dans son envie, cherchant à le livrer parce qu'il était chrétien* Σ — 13 ἐκείνης A — 14 ἐπείριαν P: ἐπήρριαν A; correxi — 14 ... 15] *et il alla à une montagne élevée qu'il trouva contre* (ou *selon*) *sa volonté, et il changea de lieu à cause de la nécessité de la persécution* Σ — σκοπὸν cod.: σκοπῶν conieci — 17 λίθῳ] ἐν λίθω A — αὐτὴν ἐνέβλεψεν A — 17 sq.] *et ayant enlevé la pierre, il trouva à l'intérieur une tranquillité grande, et il regarda* etc. Σ

6. — Τοιγαροῦν ἐπιποθήσας τὸν τόπον ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ δεδομένον αὐτῷ πρὸς κατοίκησιν, πάντα τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διήγαγεν, τροφὴν καὶ ἔνδυσιν ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων ἔχων. Ὅπερ ἵνα μηδενὶ ἀδύνατον εἶναι νο-
5 μισθῇ, Ἰησοῦν διαμαρτύρομαι καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγγέλους, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ τῆς ἐρήμου τῷ ἐγγὺς τῆς Συρίας ὑπάρχοντι πλησιάζοντί τε τοῖς μέρεσι τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, ἑωρακέναι με μοναχοὺς ἐν οἷς εἷς ἐν ὅλοις τριάκοντα ἔτεσι ἐγκατάκλειστος κριθίνῳ ἄρτῳ καὶ τεθολωμένῳ ὕδατι τρέφεται,
10 ἕτερος ἐν λάκκῳ τινὶ παλαιῷ, ὅνπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες γουββὰν καλοῦσιν, πέντε ἰσχᾶσι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν συγκρατεῖται. Ταῦτα ἄπιστα φαίνεται τοῖς μὴ πιστεύουσι.

7. — Ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸ ἀπανέλθω ὅθεν καὶ ἠρξάμην, ὡς λοιπὸν ἑκατοστοῦ καὶ τρισκαιδεκάτου ἔτους ὁ μακάριος
15 ὑπῆρχε Παῦλος οὐράνιον βίον διάγων ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ ἐνενηκοστούτης ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐρήμῳ Ἀντώνιος διέτριβεν, ὡς αὐτὸς διηγεῖσθαι εἰώθει, ἐν τῇ ἐνθυμήσει τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ ἐπῆλθεν εἰ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἐνδοτάτω τῆς ἐρήμου τῶν μοναχῶν διάγει. Ὧι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἡσυχάζοντι ἀπεκαλύφθη εἶναι ἕτερον ἐνδο-

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2 δεδωρημένον R — τὸν καιρὸν om. RTUV — αὐτῷ T — 3 τῆς ζωῆς] τῆς ζωῆς ἔτη V: τῆς ζωῆς τοὺς χρόνους R: τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον T — διῆγεν RTV — ἔνδυμα U: ἔνδημα V — 4 μηδὲν U — 6 alterum τῷ] τοὺς L — ἐπάρχοντι T: ὑπάρχοντας L — 7 πλησιάζοντες L — τε] δὲ RT: om. L — σαρακινῶν L — 8 με om. R — δύο ante μοναχοὺς add. T — εἷς] εἷς γε L: ὁ μὲν εἷς T — κατάκλειστος RUV: κατάκλειστος ὢν T — 9 ἐτρέφετο TUV — 10 ὁ ἕτερος δὲ T — γοῦββαν L: τούμβαν R: τοῦβαν T — 11 ἰσχάδας T — συνεκρατεῖτο T: συγκρατεῖ με L — 12 φαίνονται T — πιστεύσασιν R: ποιοῦσιν ἢ πιστεύουσιν· τοῖς δὲ πιστεύουσιν ἐν θεῷ καὶ ποιοῦσιν πάντα ἀληθῆ καὶ τίμια T — 13 αὐτὸ] αὐτὸν πάλιν τὸν θεσπέσιον παῦλον T — ἀνέλθω T — 14 ὡς λοιπὸν om. L — ἑκατοστὸτρὶσκαὶδεκάτου V: ἑκατοστῶτρισκαιδεκάτου U — καὶ om. RT — 15 ὑπῆρχεν ὁ μακάριος R — παῦλος ὑπῆρχεν οὐράνιον καὶ ἀγγελικὸν βίον T — τῆς γῆς RTU — ἐνενηκοστοῦτῆσ LT: ἐνενικοστοῦτῆσ RUV: corr. ἐνενηκοντούτης? — 16 ἐρήμου L — καὶ ante ὡς add. L — 17 ὡς ante ἐν add. R — ὑπῆρχεν V: διῆλθεν U — εἰ om. V — οὐδεὶς ἕτερος] καὶ ἕτερός τις T — 18 et 19 corrige: ἐνδοτέρω? cf. AP

11

Καὶ ἀγαπήσας τὸν τόπον ἐδόξασεν τὸν θεὸν ὡς χαρισάμενον αὐτῷ κατοικητήριον. Καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ διῆξεν ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ. Ἦν δὲ ἡ τροφὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐκείνῳ. Ἵνα δὲ μήτις εἴπῃ ὡς τούτου ἀδυνάτου ὄντος, μάρτυρα ἔχω τὸν χριστὸν ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ ἀγγέλους ὅτι εἶδον μοναχοὺς ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις οὕτω τελειωθέντας καὶ μὴ δειλανδρήσαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου.

Ἵνα οὖν ἐπαναλαβὼν τὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου διηγήσωμαι, ἐποίησεν ἑκατὸν δεκάτρια ἔτη ὁ φιλόχριστος ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῶν βίον οὐράνιον, τοῦ δὲ ἀββᾶ Ἀντωνίου οἰκοῦντος ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐρήμῳ ἐνενηκονταετοῦς ὄντος. Ἀπήγγειλεν δὲ ἡμῖν ποτε ὅτι ἐλογισάμην ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄρα τῶν μοναχῶν ᾤκησεν ἐσώτερον τῆς ἐρήμου ταύτης. Καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ, ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμουμένου, ἀπεκαλύφθη

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1 ἐκεῖνον post τόπον add. P. — 3 ὅλον ... prius αὐτοῦ] *toutes les années* ou *tous les jours de sa vie* Σ — 4 αὐτοῦ om. A — 5 ἀδυνάτου ὄντος] ἀδυνατεύοντος A — 6 ἰησοῦν om. A — 8 ὑπὸ P — 9 ... 12 ὄντος laudantur apud Eustr., p. 427 (cf. introd.) — 9 ἵνα οὖν ἐπ.] ἐπ. τοίνυν Eustr. — διηγήσομαι P Eustr.: διηγίσομαι A — 10 δεκάτρια] δέκα Eustr. — 11 δὲ om. Eustr. — 12 ἐνενηκονταετοῦς ... 13 ἑαυτῷ] καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν λογιζομένου P — ἡμῖν deest in Σ — ποτε] τότε A: om. ex K: *il nous dit une fois;* cf. Σ: *Antoine racontait que „j'ai pensé un jour en moi-même"* — ὅτι ..., ἄρα] ὡς ὅτι οὐδέποτέ τις A — ἄρα deest in Σ — 14 ἐσώτερον] ἐνδότερόν μου P: *plus à l'intérieur que moi* Σ; cf. K — ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ P: *dans le désert* Σ — κατ' ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν νύκτα P

τάτω πολλῷ αὐτοῦ βελτίονα, πρὸς ὃν καὶ ὀφείλει συντυχίας χάριν σπουδάσαι.

Εὐθέως οὖν ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης, ὁ μακάριος γέρων βακτηρίᾳ ἑαυτὸν ὑποβαστάζων ἤρξατο τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν διανύειν, ἀγνοῶν τὴν ὁδόν. Ἤδη δὲ μεσημβρίας ἐπιγενομένης, τοῦ ἡλίου ἅπαντα ἐκπυρακτοῦντος, οὐκ ἐπανήγετο ἐκ τῆς προκειμένης ὁδοῦ λέγων· „Πιστεύω τῷ θεῷ μου, ὅτι τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ ὅν μοι ἐπηγγείλατο δείξει."

Ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον ἵππῳ μεμιγμένον, ὃν ἡ δόξα τῶν ποιητῶν ἱπποκένταυρον κέκληκεν.

Πρὸς ὃν ἔφη· „Σὺ λέγω, ἐν ποίῳ μέρει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ κατοικεῖ ⟨ὧδε⟩;"

Ἀπεκρίνατο κἀκεῖνος βαρβαρικῇ τινι φωνῇ ἐπικλῶν μᾶλλον τὰ ῥήματα ἤπερ αὐτὰ σαφηνίζων, ἐκ στόματός τε φρικώδους κολακεύειν φαινόμενος ἐπειρᾶτο προσομιλεῖν· καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα προτείνας, τὴν ποθουμένην ἐδείκνυ ὁδόν.

Οὕτω τε τὸ πλατὺ πεδίον διατρέχων, ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν θαυμάζοντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο.

Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο εἴτε ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ἔκπληξιν αὐτοῦ ὑπεκρίνατο, εἴτε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἡ ἔρημος τερατῶδες ζῶον ἐδείκνυ, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχομεν.

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1 αὐτοῦ ἐνδοτάτω RT — πολλὰ UV — μοναχὸν πολλῷ μᾶλλον β. αὐ. T — ὠφείλεις R — 2 σπουδάσαι καὶ ἐλθεῖν T — 3 γέρων Ἀντώνιος T — 4 ὑποστηρίζων R: om. T — ἤρξατο τὴν om. T — 5 ἀγνοῶν τὴν ὁδὸν om. V — δὲ om. V — 7 προσκειμένης R — 8 ὃν ἐπ. μοι δείξει ἐν τάχει T — δείξαι in δείξει corr. L: δείξῃ RUV — 9 καὶ ante ἐν add. L — οὖν ante εἶδεν add. RT — 11 ἔφη σὺ λέγω] ἔφησε λέγων V: ἔφησεν λέγων RTU — εἰπέ μοι ante ἐν add. T — μέρει] ὄρει RTU: ὄρῃ V — 12 ὧδε supplevi: cf. AP et Hier. — 13 κἀκεῖνος] οὖν ἐκεῖνος RT — τινι] τῇ sed in marg. add. νι U: τῇ TV: om. L: l. τῷ? — 14 εἴπερ cod.: correxi — αὐτῶ R: om. T — σαφηνιάζων R — τε] γὰρ T — 16 ἐκτείνας L — ἐδείκνυεν RTUV — 17 οὕτωσ R: οὕτοσ LT — τὸ om. RTUV — 18 θαυμάζων UV — 19 ἐπίπληξιν T — 20 ἔθος RT — 21 ἐδείκνυεν RT

αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἐστίν τις ἐσώτερός σου καὶ βελτίων σου ᾧ ὀφείλεις συντυχεῖν μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς.

Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης, ὁ μακάριος γέρων Ἀντώνιος λαβὼν τὴν βαΐνην ῥάβδον, ἐπεστηρίχθη ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἤρξατο περιπατεῖν τῷ ἰδίῳ λογισμῷ, μὴ εἰδὼς τὴν ὁδόν. Μεσημβρίας δὲ γεναμένης, τοῦ ἡλίου ἰσχύσαντος καὶ τὰ πάντα καίοντος, οὐκ ἐξέκλινεν ὁ μακάριος γέρων τῆς ὁδοῦ λέγων· „Πιστεύω τῷ θεῷ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει με, ἀλλὰ δείξει μοι τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐπηγγείλατο."

Ἔτι αὐτοῦ λογιζομένου, εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον διφυῆ ἐξ ἵππου καὶ ἀνθρώπου συγκείμενον, ὃν οἱ ποιηταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλοῦσιν ἱπποκένταυρον.

Ἐκάλεσεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος καὶ εἶπεν· „Σὺ λέγω, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ποίῳ μέρει ἐστὶν ὧδε;"

Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος ἐν βαρβαρικῇ διαλέκτῳ ἐν λόγοις ἀσήμοις, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ φόβον ἀπέβαλλεν.

Καὶ περιεπάτει ὁ μακάριος γέρων ἐξιχνεύων καὶ ζητῶν τὴν ὁδόν. Θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἀπέδρα τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰς ἀγρὸν εὐρύχωρον.

Οὕτω δὲ ἐσχημάτισεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ διάβολος καθ' ὑπόκρισιν.

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1 αὐτῷ] *à moi* Σ et, ut vid., K — ἐνδότερόν σου P — 2 μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς om. A — 3 γέρων] ἀββᾶ P — 4 ἐπεστηρίχθη ... καὶ om. P — 5 ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ante τῷ add. PΣ — τῷ ἰδίῳ λογισμῷ om. P — τὴν ὁδόν] ποῦ ἀπέλθῃ P: *ne sachant dans quel endroit il marchait ni quel était le lieu du saint* K — 6 γεναμένης] καταλαβούσης P — τοῦ ... 7 καίοντος] καὶ τοῦ καύσονος σφοδροῦ ὄντος P: cf.: *lorsqu'il fut midi et que le soleil eut pris de la force, la chaleur devint forte aussi* K, et: *et après que fut arrivé midi et la chaleur, et que le soleil fut devenu violent et brûlant* Σ — 8 τῷ θεῷ om. A — με] μοι P: με ὁ θεὸς πόποτε A — δείξῃ AP — 9 ἐπηγγείλατο] ἐπιποθῶ A — 10 εἶδεν] *il vit tout à coup* Σ — 13 εἶπεν] λέγει αὐτῷ A — 14 ἐν ποίῳ μέρει ἐστὶν ὁ ἅ. τ. θ. ὧδε P — ἐν λ. ἀ. deest in K — 16 ἀσήμοις] *immondes* Σ — *et sa bouche était remplie de crainte* Σ — 17 περιεπάτησεν A — ἀνιχνεύων P — 18 Ἀντωνίου] ἁγίου P — 19 ἀ. π. αὐ.] ἀπ' αὐτοῦ P — 20 αὐτὸν A — καθ' ὑπόκρισιν] *pour le bienheureux comme pour la terrorisation* (= πρὸς ἔκπληξιν?) Σ: *en la manière d'un hippocentaure* K

8. — Ὅθεν θαυμάζων ὁ Ἀντώνιος περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας ἧς εἶδεν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐνθυμούμενος, περαιτέρω προβαίνων ἐν κοιλάδι τινὶ λιθώδει μικροφυῆ ἀνθρωπίσκον ὁρᾷ ἐπὶ μετώπου κέρατα φέροντα· ᾧ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ σώματος
5 αἰγὸς πόδας ἀπετέλει.

Καὶ τούτῳ τῷ θεάματι προσσχών, τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως καὶ τὸν θώρακα τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ καλὸς ἀγωνιστὴς ἀναλαβών, τίς εἴη ὁ βλεπόμενος ἐπηρώτα.

Ὁ δὲ· „Θνητὸς ἐγώ εἰμι καὶ εἷς τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν
10 ἔρημον, ἔφασκεν, οὓς ἡ πολυποίκιλος τῶν ἐθνῶν δεισιδαιμονία ἀπατηθεῖσα σατύρους τε ὀνομάζουσα θρησκεύει.

„Πρεσβείαν πρὸς σὲ κομίζω ἐκ τῆς ἀγέλης μου. Δεόμεθα ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸν κοινὸν δεσπότην καθικετεύσῃς· τὴν γὰρ σωτηρίαν τοῦ κόσμου πάλαι ἐληλυθέναι ἐμάθομεν, καὶ εἰς
15 πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτοῦ."

Τοιαῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, ὁ γέρων τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν διανύων δάκρυσι τὸ πρόσωπον περιρραινόμενος ἐχαίρετο ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χριστοῦ δόξῃ καὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

Ἅμα θαυμάζων ὅτιπερ ἐδύνατο τούτου τοὺς λόγους νοεῖν,

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1 ὁ μέγας Ἀ. T — lege καὶ περὶ? — 2 ἣν T — ἴδεν L: καθεῖδεν U: καθίδεν RV: κατεῖδεν καὶ T — τί ἂν εἴη add. ante περαιτέρω RT — περετέρω τε UV — 3 ὁρᾷ ante ἐν transpon. RT — ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου RT — 6 προσέχων RTUV — cf. Ephes. VI 16 — ἀναλαβὼν ante τὸν θυρεὸν transpon. RT — 8 εἶ UV — ἠρώτα RT — 9 ὁ δὲ om. L — ἔφασκεν ante θνητὸς transpon. T — εἰμὶ ἐγὼ T: ἐγώ φησιν εἰμὶ RUV — τοῦτην ante τὴν add. U — 10 οὓς] ὡς RTUV — 11 ἠπάτησεν LRU: ἠπάτησε V: ἠπάτηται T: em. ex AP et Hier.: *deluso* — σάτυρον T: ταύρους L — τε om. V — θρησκεύειν LRUV — 12 καὶ ante πρεσβείαν add. RT — μου δεόμενος· ἵνα RTUV — 13 ὑπὲρ] αὐτὸν T — καθικετεύσητε LU: καθικετεύσειτε V — 14 τῷ κόσμῳ πάλιν L — 15 cf. Ps. XIX 5 et Rom. X 18 — 16 ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα T — ὁ μακάριος γέρων Ἀντώνιος T — 17 δάκρυσί τε T — τὸ πρόσωπον post περιρ. transpon. R — περιβρενόμενος RUV: περιβρεόμενος L: περιρρεόμενος T; correxi — ἔχαιρεν R: ἔχαιρεν καὶ ἠγαλλιᾶτο T — 18 χριστοῦ] θεοῦ U — μὲν δόξῃ ἀπωλείᾳ δὲ T — 19 ἅμα] ἀλλὰ L: καὶ RT — μεγάλως ante ὅτιπερ add. T — ἠδύνατο RT — τούτου] τούτουσ V: τούτουσ καὶ U: ταῦτα καὶ L: τούτων R: om. T qui τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν habet: correxi

Καὶ ἐθαύμαζεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν τύπον καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ὃ ἐφανερώθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ θηρίῳ. Προβεβηκὼς δὲ ὀλίγον, εἶδέν τινα κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἑαυτοῦ μικροφανῆ ἄνθρωπον ἑστῶτα ἐπί τινος λίθου, κέρατα ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ μετώπου.

Ἑωρακὼς δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος, ἐνδυσάμενος τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἐπηρώτα αὐτόν· „Τίς εἶ σὺ ὃν ὁρῶ;"

Ἀπεκρίθη ἐκεῖνος λέγων· „Ἐγὼ νεκρός εἰμι καὶ εἷς τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὓς καλοῦσι τὰ ἔθνη σατύρους, ἀπατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν."

Ἐκείνου δὲ ταῦτα λαλοῦντος, ὁ μακάριος γέρων ἐπορεύθη τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δακρύων αὐτοῦ πιπτόντων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, χαιρόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

Καὶ ἐθαύμαζεν ὅτι ἠδυνήθη νοῆσαι τοὺς λόγους τῶν θη-

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1 ἐθαύμασεν P — Ἀντώνιος] γέρων P — ὃ] ὦ cod.: correxi — 2 πρ. ... 3] προσβεβηκὸσ δὲ ὁ ἅγιος ἴδεν τινα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν μικροφανὴ ἄνθρωπον τῇ ἡλικία αὐτοῦ ἑστῶτα A — 3 μικροφανῆ post ἑστῶτα P — 6 ταῦτα δὲ ἑωρακὼς P — 8 ἐπερώτα A: *l'interrogeait* Σ: ἠρώτησεν P — λέγων τίς η σοὶ P — 9 καὶ ἀπεκρίθη P — 13 καὶ ante τῶν add. A — 14 χαίρων P — δὲ om. A — 16 ἐθαύμασεν P — ὅτι] ὅτι πῶς legisse vid. Σ — *les paroles de la bête* Σ: *le langage de cet animal* K: cf. Hier. *eius ... sermonem*

τήν τε βακτηρίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους κρούων ἔλεγεν· „Οὐαί σοι, Ἀλεξάνδρεια, ἥτις ἀντὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τέρατα προσκυνεῖς· οὐαί σοι, πόλις πόρνη, ἐν ᾗ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου οἱ δαίμονες συνήχθησαν. Ποίαν ἀπολογίαν ἔχετε, τῶν θηρίων χριστὸν
5 ὁμολογούντων;"

Καὶ οὔπω τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πληρουμένων, ὡς ὑπόπτερον τὸ ζῷον γενόμενον ἀπέφυγεν. Καὶ τοῦτο ἵνα μήτινι ἄπιστον φαίνηται, ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίου ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης μαρτυρούσης, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοιου-
10 τότροπον ζῷον κατήχθη, μέγα θέαμα τῷ δήμῳ. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σκήνωμα πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαλυθῆναι αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος σμυρνισθὲν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἱστορίας χάριν ἐκομίσθη.

9. — Ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ προκείμενον δηλώσω, Ἀντώνιος ἣν
15 ἐνήρξατο ὁδὸν διαπερῶν, τῶν θηρίων τοσούτων τὰ ἴχνη καθορῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ πλάτει τῆς πανερήμου, τί δέοι διαπράξασθαι ἤδη παρῳχηκυίας ἡμέρας ἑτέρας ἐνθυμούμενος, τοῦτο πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν εἶχεν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ χριστοῦ ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι. Δευτέρᾳ νυκτὶ τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερῶν,
20 πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λύκαιναν ὁρᾷ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἄσθματος ἀνερχομένην.

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1 τε] δὲ T — 2 τοῦ om. RTUV — ἀντὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος τέρατα καὶ κίβδηλα προσκυνοῦσιν T — 4 χριστῶ R — 6 καὶ om. L — ὑπ' αὐτοῦ om. RT — 7 ὡς om. T — τὸ om. UV — ἀπέφυγεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ T — 8 μήτινας R — φαίνεται L: φανῇ RT — κωνσταντίνου RTUV — 9 ἐν ἀλεξανδρίᾳ U — 10 κατινέχθη V — 11 πρὸς ... 12 σμυρνισθὲν] αὐτοῦ σμυρνισθὲν πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαλυθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος T — 12 αὐτοῦ U — ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ L: ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ V: ἐν ἀντιοχίᾳ U — 15 ἤρξατο RT — διαπερῶν] περαιοῦν T: περεοῦν RUV — τῶν ... 16 πανερήμου] ὅσον προβαίνων διήνυεν τῶν θηρίων τὰ ἴχνη τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς ἐρήμου θεωρῶν T — legendum τοσοῦτον = *tantum?* — 16 τῆς ἐρήμου LT — ἐλογίζετο ante τί add. T — 17 ἤδη] οὐκ ᾔδει L: ἤδη δὲ RT — ἑτέρας ἡμέρας RTUV — 18 αὐτόν ἐστιν L: αὐτὸν post ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι T — 19 δευτέρᾳ νυκτὶ] τῇ (δὲ add. T) ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ RT — προσκαρτερῶν ante τῇ transpon. T — τῇ εὐχῇ RT — 20 πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ om. RT — λύκαιναν ὁρᾷ] ὁρᾷ (θηρίον add. T) ὕαιναν (λεγόμενον add. T) RT — πρὸ U — 21 alterum τοῦ om. T

ρίων ἐκείνων· καὶ κρούσας τῇ ῥάβδῳ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν εἶπεν· „Οὐαὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, οὐαὶ τῇ πόλει τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἐν ᾗ συνήχθησαν πάντες οἱ δαίμονες ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου."

Ὁ οὖν μακάριος Ἀντώνιος ἐπορεύετο θέλων τελειῶσαι τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐν αὐτῇ ζητῶν τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ διελογίζετο τί ποιήσῃ καὶ ποῦ πορευθῇ. Ἰδὼν οὖν ἴχνη πολλῶν θηρίων κατὰ τὸ πλάτος τῆς ἐρήμου, παρελθούσης τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐλογίζετο, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ. Καὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ προσκαρτερῶν τῇ προσευχῇ. Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης εἶδεν ὕαιναν μεγάλην τρέχουσαν καὶ πνιγομένην σφοδρῶς, ἀνερχομένην ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους.

1 κρούσας δὲ τῇ P — 2 alterum οὐαὶ om. P — 3 πάντες om. P — τοῦ κόσμου ὅλου A — 4 ὁ οὖν ... 5 ζητῶν] πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ζητοῦντος P — 5 διαλογιζομένου P — 6 τί ἂν ποιήσει A — καὶ] ἢ P: om. K, quod praestare vid. — ἰδὼν οὖν] εἶδεν γὰρ P — πολλῶν θηρίων] *de la bête* Σ — 7 καὶ παρελθούσης P — 8 καθ' ἑ. ... ἔχων] ἐλογίζετο καθ' ἑαυτὸν P — 9 καταλιφθῆναι A — τοῦ θεοῦ P: *Dieu* K: *Notre Seigneur* Σ — ἐπορεύετο] περιεπάτη P — 10 τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ πρὸς κύριον δεήσει τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσι ἡμέρα εἶδεν P — 11 οἴεναν P: οἴαναν A — νηχομένην P: νιχωμένη A: *et soufflait* K: *oppressus, arctus, afflictus* Σ; πνιγομένην dubitanter scripsi — 12 ἀνερχομένη A

Ἥνπερ ἀκολουθήσας καὶ πλησίον τοῦ σπηλαίου γενόμενος, τοῦ θηρίου εἰσιόντος, προσελθὼν ἤρξατο ἐνορᾶν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· „ἡ τελειότης τῆς ἀγάπης τὸν φόβον ἀπωθεῖται.” Καὶ μόλις ἐνδοτάτω φῶς θεασάμενος, ὡς ἀκο-
5 ρέστως προσῄει, προσκρούσας λίθῳ τινί, ἐκ τούτου ψόφον ἀπετέλεσεν· οὗ κτυπηθέντος, ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος τὴν εἴσοδον ἀνεῳγμένην οὖσαν ἀπέκλεισεν.

Τότε δὴ Ἀντώνιος πρὸ τῆς θύρας πεσών, ἄχρις ἕκτης ἢ πλείονος ὥρας τὴν εἴσοδον ἠξίου, „τίς εἰμι, λέγων, πόθεν
10 καὶ διὰ τί ἐλήλυθα ⟨οἶδας⟩. Οἶδα ἐμαυτὸν ἀνάξιον τῆς θέας σου. Ὅμως ἐὰν μὴ ἴδω, οὐ συγχωρῶ. Ὃς τὰ θηρία ὑποδέχει, ἄνθρωπον διὰ τί ἀπωθῇ; Ἐζήτησα καὶ εὗρον· κρούω ἵνα μοι ἀνοιγῇ. Οὗπερ ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιτύχω, ἐνταῦθα ἀποθανοῦμαι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν σου, ἵνα κἂν τὸ σκήνωμά μου
15 θεασάμενος θάψῃς.”

Τοιαῦτα διαβεβαιουμένου, μόλις ἀποκρίσεως τυγχάνει, τοῦ μακαρίου λέγοντος· „Οὐδεὶς οὕτως ζητεῖ ἀπειλῶν· οὐδεὶς μετὰ δακρύων κατηγορεῖ.” Οὕτως χαριεντιζόμενος

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1 ἥπερ R — 2 ἔνδον post εἰσιόντος add. T — ἤρξατο προσελθὼν RTV (προσελθὼν om. U) — καὶ κατὰ RTUV — 3 cf. I Johan. IV 18 — ὅτι ante ἡ add. T — 4 ἀκόρεστος UV — 5 ψόφον] τὸν φόβον V — 6 κτυπέντος T — 7 ἀνεῳγμένην οὖσαν om. V — 8 δὴ om. RTUV — ὁ Ἀντώνιος R et (ὁ add. alia man.) L: ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος T — πρὸς V — ᾖ] ἢ καὶ RT: om. L — 9 ἠξίη U: ἠξίοι R: ἠξιοῖ V — ἀνοίγεσθαι ante τίς add. L — τίς εἰμι] ὁ δὲ τίς εἴη T — καὶ πόθεν LT — 10 ἐλήλυθας ἔφη ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἄγιε τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐμαυτὸν οἶδα ἀν. T — οἶδας supplevi ex A — 11 ἴδω σε T — τὴν εἴσοδον ταύτην post συγχωρῶ add. T — ὁ τὰ θηρία ὑποδεχόμενος διὰ τὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀπ. L — ὃς ... 12 διὰ τί] τὰ ἄγρια θηρία ὑποδέχῃ, καὶ ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ πλασθέντα διὰ τί T — ἀπωθεῖσαι L: ἀποθῆσαι UV: ἀποθεῖσε R — 12 cf. Matth. VII 7 — 13 ὅπερ T — τύχω ἀποθανοῦμαι ἐνταῦθα T — 14 τὸ σῶμά μου RT — 15 θάψῃς αὐτὸ T — 16 ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαβεβαιουμένου τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀντωνίου T — 17 τοῦ ... λέγοντος] λέγοντος ἔνδον τοῦ μακαρίου παύλου T — οὕτος U — 18 καὶ οὐδεὶς T — μετὰ om. U — οὕτως οὖν R: ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰπὼν ὁ γέρων T

Καὶ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτήν. Ἐγγὺς δὲ γενόμενος τοῦ σπηλαίου, εἶδεν τὸ θηρίον εἰσεληλυθὸς ἐκεῖ· καὶ ἐμβλέψας ἔσω, εἶδεν τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην, τουτέστιν τὸν μακάριον γέροντα Παῦλον. Καὶ ἀποβαλὼν τὸν φόβον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀτενίσας εἶδεν φῶς ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ. Καὶ προσελθὼν τῇ θύρᾳ μετὰ χαρᾶς, λαβὼν μικρὸν λίθον, ἔκρουσεν εἰς τὴν θύραν. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ μακάριος γέρων τὸν ἦχον, ἐπικυλίσας λίθον ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας, ἀπέφραξεν τὴν εἴσοδον.

Τότε ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἔξω τῆς θύρας, ἀξιῶν ὅπως αὐτὸν εἰσαγάγοι, λέγων ὅτι· „Μόνος εἰμί, καὶ πόθεν ἦλθον καὶ διὰ ποίαν χρείαν οἶδας. Οἶδα κἀγὼ ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἰδεῖν σε. Ὁ ὑποδεχόμενος τὰ θηρία διατί τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποτρέπει; Ἐζήτησα καὶ εὗρον· ἔκρουσα θαρρῶν ὅτι ἀνοίξεις μοι. Ἐὰν τοῦτο ἀποτύχω, πρὸ θυρῶν σου ἀποθανοῦμαι, ἵνα κἂν τὸ σῶμά μου ἰδὼν θάψῃς αὐτό."

Ἐμμείναντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις, μόλις ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ λέγων· „Οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται ὀργιζόμενος, καὶ οὐδεὶς κλαίει κατηγορῶν." Ὁμιλήσας δὲ

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1 αὐτῇ· ἐγγίσασ δὲ σπηλαίῳ A — 2 εἰσεληλοιθώτα P — ἐνβλέψας A — 3 τὴν ... ἀγάπην] τὸν ἐπιζητούμενον παρ' αὐτοῦ P — τὸν μακάριον καὶ οὐράνιον καὶ ἡσάγγελον γέροντα παῦλον· καὶ λοιπὸν P — 5 μετὰ χαρᾶς deest in KΣ — 6 μικρὸν om. P et K — εἰς τὴν θύραν] αὐτὴν P quod cum Σ consentire vid. — 7 γέρων] παῦλος P — *le bruit du coup* Σ: *le bruit du coup de pierre* K — ἐπὶ] κατὰ P — 8 ἔφραξεν P — τὴν εἴσοδον] αὐτὴν P — 9 τότε οὖν ὁ μακάριος ἀββᾶ Ἀντώνιος P — τῆς θύρας] τοῦ σπηλαίου P: cf. Σ: *devant la porte de la grotte* — 10 εἰσαγάγει AP — 11 ἦλθεν καὶ δι' ἣν ἐτίαν· οἶδα γάρ φησιν ὅτι etc. P; cf. Σ: *et de nouveau il disait: je sais que* etc.: οἶδας deest in KΣ, ut in P — 12 post σε P add.· ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ σε ἅγιε τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπως ἀξιοῦῶ τῶν σῶν εὐχῶν καὶ τῶν παρὰ θεοῦ σοι δεδωρημένων καλῶν ἀπολαῦσαι — 13 ἀποτρέπει ante τὸν ἄνθρωπον A — 14 ἀνοίγης P — πρὸ θυρῶν σου] *ici* (= ἐνταῦθα) Σ — 15 θάψεις αὐτῶ AP — 16 ἐπιμείναντος P — 17 ποτὲ post Παῦλος add. P — αὐτῷ om. P

τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῷ ἀνέῳξεν. Καὶ δὴ περιπτυξάμενοι ἀλλήλους, ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι ἠσπάζετο.

10. — Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον φίλημα καθεσθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἔφη· "Τίνα τοσούτῳ καμάτῳ ἐζήτησας; ἤδη σεσηπότα γέροντα· ὁρᾷς ἄνθρωπον χοῦν μετ' ὀλίγον γενησόμενον. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀγάπη πάντα ὑπομένει, εἰπέ μοι παρακαλῶ, ὅπως ἔχει τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· καὶ εἰ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις πόλεσι καινότεραι οἰκοδομαὶ ἀνίστανται· ὅπως ὁ κόσμος βασιλεύεται, καὶ εἰ ἔτι οἱ ἄρχοντες τούτου ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων ἀπάτης αἰχμαλωτίζονται."

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὁρῶσιν ὄρνεον κόρακα ἐν κλάδῳ φυτοῦ καθεζόμενον. Ὅπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἠρεμαίως διαπτάν, ὁλόκληρον ἄρτον θαυμαζόντων αὐτῶν πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν ἀπέθετο.

Οὗ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν λέγει ὁ Παῦλος· „Ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν τὸ ἄριστον ἀπέστειλεν, ἀληθῶς ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. Ἑξήκοντα λοιπὸν ἔτη εἰσὶν ἐν οἷς ἡμίσεως ἄρτου κλάσματος μετεῖχον. Ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ σου, τοῖς ἰδίοις στρατιώταις χριστὸς ἐδιπλασίασεν τὸ σιτηρέσιον."

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1 ἠνέῳξεν R — καὶ δὴ βαλόντες μετάνοιαν καὶ περιπτ. T — περιπτυξόμενοι R — ἀλλήλοις L — 3 καὶ μετὰ τὴν προσκύνησιν καὶ τὸ ἅ. T — ὁ] ὁ μακάριος T — 4 τοῦ om. RTUV — τίνα] conicias ἣν ex Hier.: *en quem* — πάτερ ante τοσούτῳ add. T — ἐπεζήτησας RUV — 5 ἤδη] ἰδεῖν· πεπαλαιωμένον καὶ T — ὂν post γέροντα add. RTUV; conicias ἣν (*en* Hier.) — ἄνθρωπον om. UV — ὁρᾷς ... γενησόμενον] καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον θεάσῃ χοῦν γενησόμενον RT — 6 cf. I Cor. XIII 7 — ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ T — 7 τὸ] τὰ V — γένος post ἀρχαίαις transpon. V — εἰ om. L — 8 καθίστανται T — 9 ἔτι] ἔ sic U — τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου RT — 11 ἐν τούτοις οὖν τοῖς λόγοις οὕτως ὁρῶσιν T — λεγόμενον post κόρακα add. T — 12 καὶ ἄρτον ἐπὶ στόματος φέροντα ante ὅπερ add. T — ἠρέμα T — 13 ἀπέθετο ante πρὸ transpon. T — 14 ὁ μέγας Παῦλος τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ· ἀδελφὲ Ἀντώνιε ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς τὸ ἄριστον ἀπέστειλεν ἡμῖν T — 15 ἡμῶν RUV — 16 ἑξήκοντα] ἐστὶν· ἑξ. γὰρ T — 17 ἐν] ἐπὶ RTUV — 18 ὁ χριστὸς T

αὐτῷ χαριεστέροις λόγοις, ἤνοιξε αὐτῷ τὴν θύραν. Καὶ περιπτυξάμενοι ἠσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ἐν Φιλήματι ἁγίῳ. Καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν ἕκαστος τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πλησίον.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μακάριος γέρων Παῦλος ἐκάθισεν μετὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ εἶπεν· „Ἵνα τί ἐν τῇ τοσαύτῃ ὁδῷ σεαυτῷ κάματον τοσοῦτον παρέσχες, ζητῶν γέροντα ἰδεῖν λελυμένον, ὃν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὄψει γενόμενον χοῦν. Ἀλλὰ ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀγάπη πάντα ὑπομένει, παρακαλῶ σε, εἰπέ μοι πῶς τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἄρτι, καὶ εἰ οἰκοδομοῦσιν πάλιν οἰκοδομὰς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις πόλεσιν· εἰ ἔστιν βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ· εἰ αἰχμαλωτίζονται πάλιν οἱ ἄρχοντες διὰ τῆς ἀπάτης τῶν δαιμόνων."

Ἔτι δὲ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἀτενίσαντες εἶδον κόρακα καθήμενον ἐπὶ κλάδον ξύλου. Καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατῆλθεν τὸ πετεινὸν μεθ' ἡσυχίας, ὁλόκληρον ἄρτον ἔχον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος, καὶ ἐλθὸν ἀπέθετο ἐν τῷ μέσῳ βλεπόντων τῶν δύο.

Καὶ ἐθαύμασαν τοῦ πετεινοῦ ἀναχωρήσαντος. Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ὅτι· „Ἐπ' ἀληθείας ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ ἐλεήμων καὶ Φιλάνθρωπος ἀπέστειλεν ἡμῖν τὸ ἄριστον. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ λοιπὸν τοῦτο ἑξηκοστὸν ἔτος παρὰ τοῦ ὀρνέου τούτου δέχομαι ἥμισυ ἄρτου. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐλθεῖν σε πρός

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1 prius αὐτῷ ... θύραν] αὐτὸν τοῖς χαριεντοῖς ῥήμασι ἤνυξεν αὐτὸν P — 2 περιπτυξάμενοι om. P — ἀλλήλοις P — 3 τοῦ] τῷ P; quod consentire vid. cum K, et Σ: *et ils indiquèrent chacun son nom à son compagnon* — αὐτοῦ post πλησίον add. A — 4 μετὰ δὲ τὸ καθῆσαι αὐτοὺς λέγει ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος τῷ ἀββᾷ Ἀντωνίῳ P — 5 τῇ om. P — 6 τοσοῦτον om. A — 7 γενόμενον om. A et, ut vid., K: γινόμενον legisse vid. Σ — ἀλλ' P — 8 εἰπεῖν μοι P — 9 ἄρτι: *maintenant* KΣ: om. A — καὶ om. A et K(?) — εἰ] ἢ A — πάλιν om. P et Σ — 10 ἀρχαίαις om. P — εἰ] ἢ A — 11 οἱ ἄρχοντες πάλιν P — πάλιν deest in Σ — 13 λαλοῦντος ... 15 ἡσυχίας] αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος τῷ ἀββᾷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἦλθεν κόραξ P — 15 ἔχον] βαστάζων P — 16 ἐλθὸν ... μέσῳ] ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ μέσον P — 18 πετεινοῦ P (πετινοῦ scriptum) et, ut vid., KΣ: κόρακος A — εἶπεν δὲ ἀββᾷ παῦλος τῷ ἀββᾷ ἀντωνίῳ ὅτι P — 19 ἐπ' ἀλ. ... 21 τοῦτο om. P — 21 ἔχω σήμερον δεχόμενος post ἔτος add. P — ὀρνέου P et, ut vid., KΣ: κόρακος A — 22 δέχομαι om. P

11. — Τοιγαροῦν τῷ κυρίῳ εὐχαριστήσαντες, πλησίον τῆς πηγῆς ἀμφότεροι ἐκαθέσθησαν. Ἐνταῦθα τίς πρῶτος κλάσει τὸν ἄρτον ἐφιλονείκουν. Κατείληφεν δὲ σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς φιλονεικίας αὐτῶν ἡ νύξ. Καὶ μόλις σκεψάμενοι, ἀμ-
5 φότεροί τε τοῦ ἄρτου ἐπιλαβόμενοι, τοῦτον ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου ἔκλασαν. Καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ εὐχαριστήσαντες παννύχιον ἠγρύπνουν.

Ἡμέρας τε γενομένης, ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος οὕτω προσεῖπεν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ· „Πάλαι σε, ἀδελφέ, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ
10 κατοικεῖν ᾔδειν· πάλαι τὸν σύνδουλόν μου ἐπηγγείλατό μοι ὁ χριστός. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῆς κοιμήσεώς μου ὁ καιρὸς πάρεστιν, καὶ ὅπερ πάντοτε ἐπεπόθουν, ἀναλῦσαι καὶ εἶναι σὺν χριστῷ, πληρωθέντος τοῦ χρόνου, ὑπολείπεταί μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος, σὺ ἀπεστάλης παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ
15 τῆς γῆς τὸ σῶμά μου καλύψαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα τὴν γῆν τῇ γῇ ἀποδῷς."

12. — Τούτων λεχθέντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος δακρύων καὶ στενάζων μὴ ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ σύνοδον εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἱκέτευεν.

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2 καὶ ante ἐνταῦθα add. T — πρώτως L: πρότως V — 3 καὶ κατ. RUV: καὶ λοιπὸν κατ. T — σχεδὸν om. T — 4 καὶ] τότε T — μόλισκεψάμενοι V — 5 τοῦ κυρίου T — 6 παννύκτιον V — 8 τε] δὲ LT — ὁ μακάριος παῦλος] ὁ Παῦλος R: om. LUV — οὕτω προσεῖπεν] λέγει RT — 10 ἴδειν L: ἰδεῖν U: ᾔδεῖν V: ἔδη R: ἔδει T; correxi — 11 ὁ om. RTU — post χριστὸς add.: εἰδεῖν· ἔτι ὢν ἐν σαρκὶ· ὃ δὴ καὶ γεγένηται T — πάρεστην LU: πάρεστη V — 12 ἰδεῖν ante ἐπεπόθουν add. RTUV — ἐπεθύμουν RT — 12 cf. Philipp. 1 23 — ἀναλῦσαι ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ σαρκίου T — σὺν χριστῷ εἶναι RT — 13 cf. II Timoth. IV 8 — 14 τοῦ om. TUV — ἐπὶ: corrigendum ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ γῇ vel τοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν? — 17 τούτων δὲ λ. R: τούτων καὶ ἑτέρων πλειόνων λεχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου παύλου T — δακρύσας L — 18 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν RT — 19 εἶναι om. V

με, ἀπέστειλεν ἡμῖν ὁ χριστὸς διπλῆν τροφήν, ὅτι αὐτοῦ στρατιῶταί ἐσμεν."

Καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντες τῷ θεῷ, ἐκάθισαν οἱ δύο ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Καὶ ἐφιλονείκουν μετ' ἀλλήλων τίς πρῶτος κλάσει τὸν ἄρτον. Καὶ ἡ νὺξ λοιπὸν παρήρχετο φι- 5
λονεικούντων αὐτῶν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκτείναντες ἀμφότεροι τὰς χεῖρας, ἔκλασαν τὸν ἄρτον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου. Καὶ φαγόντες διετέλεσαν ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἀγρυπνοῦντες.

Πρωΐας δὲ γενομένης, εἶπεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος τῷ Ἀν-
τωνίῳ ὅτι· „ᾔδειν, ὦ ἀδελφὲ Ἀντώνιε, ὅτι πρὸ τούτου τοῦ 10
καιροῦ ἐν τῇ περιχώρῳ ταύτῃ ᾤκεις, καὶ ὁ χριστὸς ἐπηγγείλατό μοί σε σύνδουλον. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς κοιμήσεώς μου, καὶ ὃ ἐζήτουν κατέλαβέν με, τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν χριστῷ εἶναι (ὁ γὰρ χρόνος πεπλήρωται καὶ λοιπὸν ὡς πιστεύω ἀπόκειταί μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος), καὶ 15
σὺ ἀπεστάλης ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ καλύψαι τὸ σῶμά μου ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα ἀποδῷς τῇ γῇ τὴν γῆν."

Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ μακαρίου γέροντος Παύλου, ὁ ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος ἔκλαυσεν σφόδρα· καὶ στενάξας ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ λέγων· „Μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με, ὦ ἀγαπητέ, ἀλλὰ λαβέ 20
με μετὰ σεαυτοῦ εἰς ἣν πορεύεις ὁδόν."

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1 με] ἡμᾶς A (πρός με deest in Σ) — ἰδοὺ ἀπ. P, quod cum Σ consentire vid. — ἡμῖν ... διπλῆν] ὁ θεὸς δηπλὶν τὴν P — 2 στρατιῶται] δοῦλοι P — 3 καὶ εὐχ.] εὐχ. δὲ A — τῷ θεῷ τῷ διδοῦντι τροφὴν πάσι σαρκεὶ P — οἱ δύο om. P — 4 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ P: deesse vid. in KΣ — ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς om. P: *près de la source* K — καὶ ... πρῶτος] φιλονεικοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ τίς ἄρα P — ἐφιλονείκων A — 5 καὶ ... 6 αὐτῶν deest in K — 5 καὶ ... 6 ταῦτα] ὡς δὲ λοιπὸν παρήρχετο ἡ ἡμέρα P — 7 τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφότεροι P — ἐν] ἐπὶ P — 8 ὅλην om. A — 9 εἶπεν ἀββᾶ π. τῷ ἀββᾶ Ἀντ. P et K — μακάριος deest in Σ — 10 ἴδην A — ᾔδειν ... 11 καιροῦ] εἰδοὺ ἔγνων σε τρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου οἰκοῦντα P — ᾤκεις om. P — χριστὸς] θεὸσ P: *Notre Seigneur* Σ — 13 τὸ] ὃ ἐστιν τὸ A — 14 με ante prius καὶ add. A — μου post χρόνος add. A et, ut vid., KΣ — 16 τοῦ ante κυρίου om. P — 17 ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ A: *dans* Σ — μᾶλλον δὲ ... γῆν om. Σ — ἀποδώσις P — 18 ταῦτα ... ἅγιος] ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὁ μακάριος P — γέροντος deesse vid. in KΣ — 20 ὦ om. P — 21 μετὰ σοῦ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύει P — ἣν] ἂν A

Κἀκεῖνος· „Οὐκ ὀφείλεις, φησίν, ζητεῖν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ πλησίον. Συμφέρει γάρ σοι τὸ ἄχθος τῆς σαρκὸς ἀποθέσθαι· ἀλλὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ συμφέρει ἀδελφοῖς, ἵνα σου μιμηταὶ γένωνται. Διόπερ ἐπείχθητι, παρακαλῶ, εἰ τοῦτο ἀνεπαχθές, καὶ τὴν στολὴν ἣν σοι Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐδωρήσατο, πρὸς ἐντυλιγμὸν τοῦ σώματός μου ἐπικόμισαι."

Τοῦτο δὲ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἠξίου οὐ τὸ ἔνδυμα ἐπιποθῶν, ὅπερ ἤδει ἐν τῇ γῇ φθαρησόμενον, ἀλλ' ἵνα μετὰ ἀνέσεως ἐξέλθοι τοῦ βίου.

Θαυμάσας τοιγαροῦν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅ τι περὶ Ἀθανασίου καὶ τῆς στολῆς αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν, ὡς χριστὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ὁρῶν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς στέρνοις αὐτοῦ τὸν κύριον προσκυνῶν, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀποκρίνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἡσυχίας δακρύων, φιλήσας αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπὶ τὸ μοναστήριον ἠπείχθη, ὅπερ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν διηρπάσθη.

13. — Καὶ δὴ παραγενομένου αὐτοῦ, οἱ δύο μαθηταί, οἱ ἤδη ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἐξυπηρετούμενοι αὐτῷ ἀπαντήσαντες ἔφασκον· „Ποῦ τοσοῦτον χρόνον διῆγες, πάτερ;" Ἀπεκρί-

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1 κἀκεῖνος ἔφη T — cf. I Cor. X 24 — ὤφειλες L: ὀφείλει U — φησίν om. T — τὰ σαυτοῦ ζητεῖν ἀδελφέ T — 2 οὐ συμφέρει RT — ἀποθέσθαι τῆς σαρκὸς L — 3 τοῖς . . . μιμηταὶ] συμφέρει σοι ἵνα οἱ λοιποὶ (σου add. T) ἀδελφοὶ μιμηταί σου RT — λοιποῖσ σου U (cf. T): forsan recte — ἵνα . . . γένωνται: cf. I Cor. X 38 — 4 διότι R — εἰ] εἰς RT — 5 ἀνεπεχθὲσ V: ἀνεπαχθῶς T — ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθ. σοι T — 6 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος UV — μοι T — 8 τοῦτο δὲ] οὐ τοῦτο γὰρ RUV: δι' οὗ τοῦτο δὲ T — ὁ μ. καὶ μέγας Π. T — ἠξίοι L: om. RT: ἐξηγούμενος UV: correxi — οὐ om. RTUV — ἐπιποθῶν τὸ ἔνδυμα T — 9 ἔλεγεν ante ὅπερ add. RTUV — ἴδη L: ἴδη U: ἤδη R: ἔδει T — διαφθαρησόμενον RTUV — ἵνα καὶ μετὰ RUV — ἵνα μὴ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὢν ἐξ. T — 10 ἀνέσεως] ἂν R — ἐξέλθη LRUV — 12 χριστῶ R — 13 σπλάγχνοις L — ἐπὶ πολὺ: *ultra* Hier.: l. ἐπὶ πλεῖον? — 14 ἀποκρίνασθαι T — ἐτόλμα T — μετήσυχίας L — 15 δακρύων post χεῖρας iter. T — 16 ἠπήχθη U: ἐπήχθη LR: ἀπήχθη V: ἐπείχθη σπουδῇ T — ὅπερ . . . διηρπάσθη om. T — τοῦτο L: τὰ sic V — σαρακινῶν LR — 18 αὐτοῦ post μαθηταὶ add. L — 19 ἐν om. T — ἐξυπηρετοῦντες R — 20 τὸν post ποῦ add L — αὐτὸς δὲ ante ἀπ. add. RT

Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος εἶπεν ὅτι· „Οὐ χρεία ἐστὶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ πλησίον.

Διὰ τοῦτο, ἀγαπητέ, παρακαλῶ σε, εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν σοι βαρύν, ἄπελθε ταχὺ εἰς τὴν μονήν σου καὶ ἄγαγέ μοι τὴν στολὴν ἣν ἔδωκέν σοι ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθανάσιος, ἵνα μου περιβάλῃς τὸ σῶμα."

Οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο ἐσθῆτα ἐπιζητῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ ἀποθῆται τὸ σῶμα.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος περὶ Ἀθανασίου καὶ τῆς στολῆς αὐτοῦ, ἐθαύμασεν βλέπων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ, μὴ τολμῶν ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ κλαίων σφόδρα κατεφίλει τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτάχυνεν τοῦ δραμεῖν εἰς τὴν μονὴν αὐτοῦ.

Θθάσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, οἱ δύο αὐτοῦ μαθηταί, οἱ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπηρετήσαντες αὐτῷ, ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες· „Ὦ πάτερ, ποῦ ἦς τὰς τοσαύτας ἡμέρας;" Καὶ αὐτὸς

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1 Ἀπ.... 3 βαρύν] ἀπεκρίθη ὁ. μ. Π. λέγων· ἄφες τέως ταῦτα· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἐστι σὺ βαρὺ παρακαλῶ σε P — 3 l. βαρύ? — 4 ταχὺ post σου transpon. P — 8 τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα A — 9 δ] ἀββᾶ PK — 10 ἐθαύμαζεν P — ἐν ἑαυτῷ A — 11 alterum αὐτῷ] ὅλως P — 12 κατεφίλει ... 13 prius αὐτοῦ] et il baisait ses yeux et ses mains Σ — αὐτοῦ ante τὰς transpon. P — τοῦ δραμεῖν] ἐκδραμὴν A — 14 post αὐτοῦ add. εἰς τὴν μονὴν A — οἱ δύο ... 15 ὑπ. αὐτῷ] ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ οἱ δύο μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ P — 16 ὦ πάτερ om. P — εἰς AP: correxi

νατο· „Οὐαί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ, τῷ ἐπίπλαστον μοναχοῦ ὄνομα ἐπικομιζομένῳ. Εἶδον Ἠλίαν, εἶδον Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ Παῦλον εἶδον."

Καὶ οὕτω τῷ στόματι μεμυκότι, τῇ χειρὶ τὸ στῆθος πλήττων, ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου τὴν στολὴν προεκόμιζεν. Παρακαλούντων τε τῶν μαθητῶν ἐντελέστερον περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀναδιδαχθῆναι, ἔφη· „Καιρὸς τοῦ λέγειν, καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ σιωπᾶν."

14. — Καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω, καὶ οὔτε τὸ βραχύτατον τροφῆς μεταλαβών, ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐξ ἧς καὶ παρεγένετο ἠπείγετο, ἐκεῖνον διψῶν, ἐκεῖνον κατιδεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν, ἐκεῖνον ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ διανοίᾳ ἀσπαζόμενος· ὑφωρᾶτο γὰρ μὴ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδῷ τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ πνεύματος.

Ἑτέρας οὖν ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης περὶ τρίτην ὥραν εἶδεν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγέλων τάγματα, καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων χορούς· ἐν οἷς χιόνος λαμπρότητι Παῦλον στίλβοντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἀνερχόμενον. Εὐθέως ἐπ' ὄψιν πεσών, ψάμμον τε περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πασάμενος, κλαίων καὶ στένων ἔλεγεν· „Διατί με, Παῦλε, κατέλιπες; διατί ἀπέρχῃ μὴ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὸν τελευταῖον ἀσπασμὸν δεξάμενος;"

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1 τῷ] τὸ LRU — τῷ ... 2 ἐπικ.] τέκνα, τῷ ἐπικομιζομένῳ ἐπίπλαστον μοναχοῦ ἔνδυμα T — 2 ἐπικομιζομένου L — ἡλίαν RT — 3 Παῦλον ante ἐν transpon. TUV — εἶδον om. UV — 4 τῷ om. RTUV — τῇ χειρὶ post πλήττων transpon. R — 5 προσεκόμιζεν T — 6 τε] δὲ LT — 7 ἀναδειχθῆναι U et in marg. R: om. V — ἔφη ὁ Ἀντώνιος L: ἔφη αὐτοῖς τέκνια T — cf. Eccles. III 7 — ἐστιν ante τοῦ add. T — 9 καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔξω· οὔτε T — 1. οὐδὲ? — τὸ] κἂν T: om. RUV — 10 ἐξ ἧς] ἔξεισιν L — καὶ om. T — παρεγένετο om. L — ἠπήγει L: ἠπήγεν R — 11 καὶ post ἐκεῖνον add. UR — καθιδεῖν LV: καθηθηδεῖν U — ἐπιθυμῶν] ἐπίγετο U — 14 περὶ τὴν τρ. T — 17 οὐρανίοις V: οὐρανοῖς T — post εὐθέως add. οὖν T: οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος L — 18 τε om. U — 19 ἐγκατέλιπες T

ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς λέγων· „Οἴμοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ, ὅτι ἐπίπλαστον ἐπέθηκα ἐμαυτῷ ὄνομα τοῦ μονάζοντος. Εἶδον γὰρ σήμερον Ἠλίαν καὶ Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· εἶδον ἀληθῶς Παῦλον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ."

Καὶ ἐλάλει πρὸς αὐτοὺς κρούων τὸ στῆθος ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ λαβὼν τὴν στολὴν ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν τοῦ δηλῶσαι αὐτοῖς πάντα. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· „Καιρός ἐστιν τοῦ λαλεῖν, καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ σιωπᾶν."

Καὶ ἐπορεύθη τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ μὴ λαβὼν τροφὴν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ παντελῶς. Καὶ ἐτάχυνεν τοῦ δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον, ἐπιποθῶν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν πάλιν· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μήπως ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ παραδῷ τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ κυρίῳ.

Ὁδοιπορήσας δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῇ ἑξῆς, τρίτῃ ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας, εἶδεν τάγματα ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὸν χορὸν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τὸν ἀββᾶν Παῦλον ἀστράπτοντα ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ὥσπερ χιόνα, καὶ ἀνερχόμενον μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγεν κλαίων καὶ στενάζων· „Διατί, θεοσεβέστατε πάτερ, ἐγκατέλιπές με, καὶ διατί οὐ προσεδέξω τὸν ἀσπασμόν μου μετὰ τοσοῦτον δρόμον ὃν ἐποίησα ὡς πετεινόν;"

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1 αὐτοὺς P — 2 ἐμαυτὸν τὸ ὄνομα P — 3 σήμερον post ἐρήμῳ transpon. A — 5 μετ' αὐτῶν P — ἐν ταῖς A — 6 ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀναγγῆλαι αὐτοὺς πάντα P — 8 αὐτοὺς P — 8 ... 9 λαλεῖν et σιωπᾶν transpon. Σ — 9 σηγᾶν P — 10 καὶ ... 21 με laudantur apud Eustr. p. 427 sq. (cf. introd.) — Ἀντώνιος post αὐτοῦ add. Eustr. — 11 ταχύνας Eustr. — ἐπὶ] πρὸς P — 12 ἐπιποθῶν ... πάλιν om. A — πάλιν deest in Σ — αὐτὸν πάλιν] πάλιν τοῦτον Eustr. — 13 μήπω A — 14 δὲ om. Eustr. — τῇ] τὴν Eustr. — 15 ἡμέρα post ἑξῆς add. A — τῇ τρίτῃ Eustr. — 16 alterum τῶν om. Eustr. — 17 τὸν om. P — τῷ μέσῳ A — 18 ὥσπερ χιόνα Eustr.: ὡς ἀστραπὴν P: om. A — 19 πεσὼν P — 19 ... 20 αὐτοῦ καὶ om. P — ὁ Ἀντώνιος post αὐτοῦ add. Eustr. — κλαίων ante ἔλεγεν transpon. P: πενθῶν Eustr. — καὶ στενάζων om. P — 20-21 διὰ τί με ἐγκατέλειπας ὦ πάτερ Eustr. — ἐγκατέλιπές P: ἐγκατέλειπές A — ἵνατὶ P — 22 μετὰ τοσοῦτον] καὶ τὸν P — ὡς πετεινόν] πρὸς σὲ P

15. — Διηγεῖτο γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος τοσαύτῃ ταχυτῆτι τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ὁδοῦ διηνυκέναι, ὡς μὴ συγκρίνεσθαι πτήσει ὀρνέων τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην ὁδοιπορίαν.

5 Καὶ γὰρ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, ὁρᾷ ἐπὶ γόνατα τὸν μακάριον, ἄνω τε ἔχοντα τὸν αὐχένα, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνιπταμένας. Καὶ πρῶτον καὶ αὐτὸς προσεδόκα αὐτὸν ἔτι ζῆν, δι' ὃ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ηὔχετο. Ἐξ οὗ δὲ οὐδὲ στεναγμὸν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῦ ἱκετεύοντος ἤκουεν, συνῆκεν ὅτι καὶ τὸ

10 σῶμα τῷ θεῷ τὴν προσκύνησιν προσῆγεν ᾧ πάντα ζῇ.

16. — Ὅθεν ἐντυλίξας αὐτὸν καὶ προκομίσας τὸ σκήνωμα κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς μετὰ ὕμνων καὶ ψαλμῶν κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς χριστιανικῆς θρησκείας, περίλυπος ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἐπικομισάμενος σκαλίδιον ἐν ᾧ

15 οἷόν τε ἦν τὴν γῆν ὀρύξαντα καταθέσθαι.

Ἀγωνιῶν οὖν καὶ πλέον διαλογιζόμενος Φάσκων τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰ βουληθείη αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ μοναστήριον ἐπειχθῆναι, μὴ ἐπαρκεῖν τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν δρόμον πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, ἔλεγεν· „Ἀποθανοῦμαι κἀγὼ ὡς ἔστιν δίκαιον ἐγγὺς τοῦ οἰκέτου

20 σου, χριστέ."

Τοιαῦτα αὐτοῦ διαλογιζομένου, ἰδοὺ δύο λέοντες ἐκ τῆς

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1 γὰρ delendum? — μεταῦτα L et, τα superscr., V — 2 ὡς ante τοσαύτῃ add. RTUV — ταχύτητι cod. — 3 συγκριθῆναι RT — πτῆσιν ... τῇ ... γενομένη ὁδοιπορία RTUV — ὀρνέου U — 6 ἄνωθέν τε ἔχων L — τε om. RT — καὶ om. RTUV — 7 ἀνηπταμένας cod. — πρῶτος RUV — καὶ om. L — 8 οὔτε V: οὔτεσ sic U: om. T — 9 οὐκ ἤκουεν T — καὶ om. L — 11 αὐτὸν in αὐτὸ corr. L: αὐτῶ V — προσκομίσας UV — 12 κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς delendum? — 13 περίλυπός τε V — 14 ὅτιπερ RTUV — ἐν ᾧ om. RT — 15 ἦν ante οἷόν τε UV: om. RT — ὀρύξαντα τὴν γῆν L — 16 πλείων L — 17 εἰ βουληθείη] ἡ βουληθείη V: ἠβουλήθει U: ἠβουλήθη L — αὖθις] αὐτὸς RTUV — τὸ om. T — 19 ἀποθάνω RTUV — 21 καὶ ante τοιαῦτα add. L

Καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, εἶδεν τὸν μακάριον ἀββᾶν Παῦλον ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα· καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ διανεστηκυῖα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἠπλωμέναι. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐλογίζετο· ἴσως ζῇ καὶ εὔχεται. Καὶ συστὰς καὶ αὐτὸς συνηύχετο αὐτῷ. Προκοψάσης δὲ τῆς ὥρας, καὶ μὴ ἀκούσας φωνῆς μηδὲ στεναγμοῦ κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν προσευχομένων, τότε ἔγνω ὅτι τὸ σῶμα μόνον ἐστὶν τὸ προσευχόμενον. Καὶ προσκυνήσας τῷ θεῷ παρ' ᾧ ζῶντά ἐστιν τὰ πάντα,

περιελίξας αὐτῷ τὴν στολήν, ἤγαγεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ βαστάζων καὶ ψάλλων κατὰ τὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν παράδοσιν. Ἐλυπεῖτο δὲ ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος ὅτι οὐκ ἐμνήσθη ἐνέγκαι δίκελλαν ἢ πέλεκυν, ἵνα ὀρύξας θάψω τὸ σῶμα.

Καὶ διελογίζετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων· „Τί ποιήσω; ἐὰν ἀπέλθω εἰς τὴν μονήν μου ἐνεγκεῖν, μόλις ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ἀπαντῶ." Καὶ εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ· „Ἀποθανοῦμαι νῦν κἀγώ, κύριε Ἰησοῦ χριστέ, μετὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου ὑπηρέτου."

Καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, ἰδοὺ δύο λέοντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ

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1 εἰσελθὼν δὲ P — μακάριον om. P et, ut vid., KΣ — ἀββᾶ P — 3 αἱ] ἡ A — 7 τότε ... προσευχόμενον om. A — 8 παρ' ᾧ ... πάντα om. A — 10 περιελίξας αὐτῷ] καὶ περιβαλὼν τὸ σῶμα P — εἰς τὸ μέσον P — 11 τὴν om. A — 12 λέγων ante ὅτι add. P — ἐμνήσθην ἐνεγκεῖν P — 13 πελέκειαν P — 17 ὑπηρέτου] δούλου P

ἐσωτάτης ἐρήμου ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρέχοντες. Οὓς θεασάμενος, πρῶτον μὲν ἔφριξεν· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπανάγων, ὡς περιστερὰς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶν, ἀτρεμὴς διέμεινεν. Κἀκεῖνοι τὴν εὐθείαν διανύοντες πρὸς τὸ σκήνωμα τοῦ μακαρίου γέροντος ἔστησαν, ταῖς τε οὐραῖς κολακεύοντες περὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἀνέπεσαν βρυγμῷ μεγίστῳ ὠρυόμενοι, ὡς ἐννοεῖν τὸν μακάριον Ἀντώνιον ἀποδύρεσθαι τοὺς θῆρας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναλύσει τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου.

Ἔπειτα ἤρξαντο τὴν γῆν τοῖς ποσὶ σπαράττειν, τήν τε ψάμμον ἀπωθούμενοι, ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου τόπον κατώρυξαν. Καὶ εὐθέως τοῦ κόπου αὐτῶν τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολαβεῖν βουλόμενοι, κινήσει τῶν ὤτων τὴν κεφαλὴν κάτω νεύσαντες, πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον παρεγένοντο, τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πόδας τῇ γλώσσῃ καταλεαίνοντες, ὡς κἀκεῖνον νοῆσαι τοὺς θῆρας τὴν εὐλογίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ζητεῖν.

Διὸ καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως πρὸς δόξαν θεοῦ συγχυθεὶς ὅτιπερ καὶ ἡ ἄλαλος φύσις τὰ βέλτιστα ἐννοεῖ, ἔφη·

„Κύριε, οὔ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνευ οὔτε φύλλον ἀπὸ δένδρου πίπτει, οὔτε ἓν τῶν πετεινῶν εἰς γῆν καταφέρεται, δὸς αὐτοῖς ὡς σὺ οἶδας."

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1 ἐσωτάτου L: ἐσωτέρας R; l. ἐσωτάτω? — ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ RTUV — 2 ante πρῶτον add. ὁ Ἀντώνιος L — 3 ἐπαναγαγὼν L: ἐπαγαγὼν T — ὡς περιστερὰς] ὥσπερ ἄρνας UV — αὐτοὺς om. V — ἀτρέμας RTUV — 4 τὴν ὁδὸν εὐθείαν R: τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθείαν T: τὴν εὐθείαν τῆς ὁδοῦ LU et V qui post ὁδοῦ spatium vacuum VII fere litt. habet; correxi — 5 ἔστησαν ante τοῦ transpon. L — τε superscr. V: om. R — 6 αὐτῶν U — ἀνέπεσον T: ἐνέπεσαν V — 7 ὀρυόμενοι cod.: correxi — ἀποδύρασθαι RTUV — 8 ἀναπαύσει L — 10 ἀποθέμενοι U — τὸν τόπον (τόπων V) καθώρυξαν UV — 12 νώτων TUV — νεύοντες T — 14 τῇ γλώσσῃ om. T — 16 ἀνεμφιβόλως V — συγχυθεὶς] κινηθεὶς RT — ὅτι RTUV — 17 ἔφη] ἠύξατο λέγων L — 18 οὐδὲ R — 19 cf. Matth. X 29 — ἓν] ἐκ L — 20 σὺ om. LRT

τὸ αὐτὸ τρέχοντες. Καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἐνάρκησεν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτοῦ ὕψωσεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν· καὶ ἡσύχως αὐτοὺς ἑώρα ὡς περιστερὰς καθιπταμένας. Καὶ ἐλθόντες παρέστησαν τῷ σώματι τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου. Καὶ ἔσειον ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν κολακευτικῶς τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ προσέπεσαν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμερότητι, τρίζοντες τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτῶν ἐν βρυγμῷ μεγάλῳ ὥστε τὸν Ἀντώνιον γνῶναι ὅτι εὐλογηθῆναι ζητοῦσιν καὶ ἔκλαιον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναλύσει τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤρξαντο ὀρύττειν οἱ λέοντες καὶ διαρρίπτειν τὴν γῆν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ βαθύνειν ὅσον διάστημα ἀνθρώπου.

Καὶ ἔσειον τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν ἔκλινον τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἔλειχον τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν, ὥστε νοῆσαι αὐτὸν ὅτι εὐλογηθῆναι ζητοῦσιν.

Καὶ θαυμάσας ἐθρόησεν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι πῶς καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἡ φύσις νοεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἐκλεγητοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ εἶπεν·

„Κύριε, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδὲ φύλλον πεσεῖται ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς οὐδὲ πετεινὸν πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς σου, σὺ ἡμᾶς πάντας εὐλόγησον."

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1 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα] εἶτα P: *ensuite* K: *et de nouveau* Σ: *rursusque* Hier. — 2 ὑψώσας P — λοιπὸν post καὶ add. A — εἰσύχος A: τὸν φόβον ἀποσισάμενος P: *sans crainte* K: οὕτως legisse vid. Σ — 3 αὐτοὺς post ἑώρα P — καθηπταμένους A: ἡπταμένας P — ἡσυχίως post καὶ add. P — 4 τὸ AP — σῶμα P — 6 προσέπεσων P — 7 ὥστε γνῶναι τὸν γέροντα P: *le bienheureux connut qu'ils cherchaient à être bénis et aidés* Σ — 8 ἐζητοῦσαν A — 10 ὠρύσσιν P — διαρίπτειν A: διαρήσιν, σ superscr., P — 14 ἔσειον δὲ P — ἔκλιναν P — 15 *ses mains et ses pieds* Σ — αὐτοῦ om. P — 16 ἐννοῆσαι ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι A — 18 καὶ ἐθαύμασεν ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ P — ὅτι om. P — ἡ τῶν ἀλόγων φύσις P — 19 τοὺς ... θεοῦ] τοὺς γνισίους δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ P — 21 χωρὶς] ἄνευ τῆς σῆς προνοίας P — ἄνευ ... 22 πεσεῖται om. P — 22 ἄνευ ... 23 σου om. P — 22 ἅπαντας P

Καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπινεύων ἀπελθεῖν προσέταττεν. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι αὐτούς, τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα βαστάξας κατέθετο κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός.

Εἶτα μεθ' ἡμέραν ὡς νόμιμος κληρονόμος τὸ στιχάριον αὐτοῦ ἐπικομίζεται ὅπερ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἑαυτῷ ἦν ἐκ βαΐων Φοινίκων κατασκευάσας. Καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, ἅπαντα κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν τοῖς ἰδίοις διηγήσατο μαθηταῖς. Καὶ καθ' ἑορτὴν τοῦ Πάσχα καὶ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ἀεὶ τὸν Παύλου χιτῶνα ἐνεδιδύσκετο.

18. — Ἱκετεύω τοιγαροῦν ἅπαντα τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα Ἱερώνυμον τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐν μνήμαις ἔχειν, ὃς θεοῦ βουλήσει βούλομαι τὸν χιτῶνα Παύλου μετὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἤπερ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πορφύραν μετὰ τῆς ἀξίας αὐτῶν.

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2 βαστάσας RTUV — κατέθετο om. T — 3 τὸ om. R — 5 ἦν ἑαυτῷ U — 6 παραγενάμενος LR — ἰδίῳ post τῷ add. L — 7 ἀκολουθεῖαν UV — 8 prius καὶ om. RTUV — κατ' L — τοῦ] τοῦ τε U: τε τοῦ τε R: δὲ τοῦ T — 9 ἀεὶ om. U — ἐνδιδυσκόμενος RUV et, ἔχαιρεν addito, T — 11 μνείαις RT — 12 τῆς om. R — 13 εἴπερ RTUV — 14 post αὐτῶν add. ὦ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν U: τῷ δὲ θεῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν R

Καὶ ἀψάμενος αὐτῶν τῇ χειρὶ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπελθεῖν. Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν λεόντων, ἐπάρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου ἔθαψεν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός.

Μετὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν, ὡς κληρονόμος ἀληθῶς, λαβὼν τὸ στιχάριον τοῦ μακαρίου γέροντος, ὃ ἐποίησεν ἀπὸ σεβενίων, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ. Ἐφανέρωσεν δὲ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἐδήλωσεν αὐτοῖς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ πράγματος. Καὶ λοιπὸν κατὰ ἑορτὴν τοῦ Πάσχα καὶ κατὰ Πεντηκοστήν, ὁ μακάριος Ἀντώνιος ἐνεδύετο τὸ ἱμάτιον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου Παύλου, καὶ προσηύχετο ἀεὶ φορῶν αὐτό.

18. — Ἐγὼ Ἱερώνυμος ἁμαρτωλὸς δέομαι πάντων τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ἵνα μου μνημονεύετε. Θέλω οὖν τὸ ἱμάτιον τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν πορφυρίδα τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν.

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1 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὺς P — εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον post ἀπελθεῖν add. A; cf. K: *et il leur commanda en disant: allez votre chemin* — 2 ἐπάρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος] λαβὼν P — 3 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν post ἔθαψεν add. A — ἔθος P — 4 ὡς ἀληθῶς κληρονόμος P: *comme héritier vrai et selon la loi* Σ — ἐπὶ τὸν ὤμον ante λαβὼν add. A — 6 τὸ κελλίον] τὸν τόπον A: *dans son couvent* Σ: *à sa cellule* K — ἐφανέρωσεν ... 8 πράγματος] φανερωποιεῖσας καὶ διηγησάμενος πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς P — 8 καὶ ... τοῦ] κατὰ δὲ P — 12 ἐγὼ ... 13 μνημονεύετε om. P — 13 μνημονεύεται A: *de prier pour moi* Σ, qui reliqua om. — οὖν] δὲ κἀγὼ ἱερώνυμος ἁμαρτωλὸς ὁ ταῦτα γράψας P — 14 ἔχειν post αὐτοῦ add. A — ἀλουργίδα P — 15 τῶν ... καὶ] τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν ἐπαινων αὐτῶν A — αὐτοῦ A — post l. 15 add.: ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ᾧ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ πατρι καὶ τῷ ζωωποιῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν A

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26e FASCICULE

The Language of Caxton's Reynard the Fox

A STUDY

in Historical English Syntax

BY

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EXTRAIT DU RÈGLEMENT

Les travaux des professeurs et chargés de cours, anciens professeurs et anciens chargés de cours sont publiés sous la responsabilité personnelle de leurs auteurs.

Tous les autres le sont en vertu d'une décision de la Faculté.

To Professor ***H. Logeman***

In thankful acknowledgment.

P. D. R.

INTRODUCTION.

Historical syntax of the English as well as of other Teutonic languages and let us say, as well as the psychological side of Language on the whole have been, up to quite recent years, paid too little attention to, philological research being mainly engaged in other directions, such as Phonetics and Morphology. A striking instance is given by Paul's *Grundriss*, a work which ought to sum up our knowledge of Germanic tongues and yet does not enter into the syntax of most of the languages dealt with. To return to English, it is remarkable that in the long series of publications issued by the Early English Text Society, there is perhaps only one in which the syntax of a text is seriously examined, viz. Prof. Kellner's *Introduction* to Caxton's Blanchardyn and Englantine, a study to which we have pleasure in immediately acknowledging our debt. It is true that we found a few standard-works for some authors who may be considered as landmarks in the development of the language. There is the recent look of Wülfing on the Syntax of Alfred the Great, giving us information about the Old English period, particularly the 9th century; passing on to Middle English, as represented by

Chaucer, we have the admirable although fragmentary *Streifzüge* of Prof. Einenkel; for Shakespeare, the well known *Grammar* of Abbott is at least a convenient means of ready reference.

Now, such helps as these are quite wanting for the wide period extending from Chaucer to Shakespeare; Caxton's *Reynard* (1481) stands roughly speaking in the middle of this period, if we take the years 1390 and 1590 respectively as the approximate date of the beginning of Shakespeare's dramatic career on the one hand, and of the *Canterbury Tales*, on the other. In devoting the present study to the Syntax, Style and Order of words in *Reynard*, and endeavouring to be, within these limits, as nearly exhaustive as possible, we hope that our work, taken in conjunction with that of Dr. Kellner and, as to Phonetics and Accidence, with H. Römstedt's Essay, [1]) may provide the student

[1]) The Phonology and Accidence in *Reynard the Fox* have been examined by H. Römstedt in his ‚Englische Schriftsprache bei Caxton', — a study which if not neglecting other writings of Caxton, is mainly based on two of them, *the Book of Curtesye* and *Reynard*, which have both been submitted to a thorough investigation.

It was not considered necessary to again take up the subject of Römstedt's ‚gekrönte Preisschrift'. To it we are indebted for a great deal of information, inasmuch as the facts it contains had often a close bearing on our own researches. Thus, to quote a single instance, we are warned not to mistake, in some cases, such Plural forms as *thys* (see 16/8), *thynge* (40/36), for a syntactical use of the Singular instead of the Plural. As we consulted the work, we had continual opportunities to find that, although some additions might here and there be made, the references to *Reynard* were, on the whole, accurate and exhaustive. It is true the work is mainly descriptive; forms and sounds in Caxton are simply summed up and set in parallel with forms and sounds in Chaucer and the texts Morsbach calls ‚Urkunden' on one hand, and in Shakespeare on the other hand. But, seeing the number of facts one has to deal

of that period of the language intermediate between Chaucer and Shakespeare with a guide as reliable as those he already possesses for the study of these two classics.

Apart from belonging to a period of language the Syntax of which had been rather neglected, Caxton's work on various grounds deserves our especial attention.

William Caxton was, as everybody is aware, the father of English printing. It may be recalled that the first book he is said to have printed in England, *the Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* appeared in 1477; and from this time up to his death which occurred about 1491 he must have sent through the press not far from 10000 volumes. The question of the language of Caxton is therefore connected with

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with in the matter of Phonetics and Morphology, it was difficult to do more, I mean, to enter into questions of origin and development. As far as Reynard was concerned, the work had indeed to be supplemented by an enquiry into the relations of the English text with its Dutch original. This has been already partly done in Muller and Logeman's edition of the *Hystorie van Reinaert die Vos*, in the Introduction of which Prof. Logeman treats of Caxton as a translator and points out traces of Dutch influence, especially in the *vocabulary* and *spelling*. We hope that the author may some day enlarge these notes, and have therefore considered the question from the point of view of *Syntax* alone.

Prof. Kellner's Introduction to *Blanchardyn and Englantine is* a sketch of the Syntax of Caxton. However, of all the works of Caxton, Prof. Kellner has precisely disregarded *Reynard*. To show that the omission led the author into a few erroneous statements, let us refer to page LXXVI, where we are told that the Verbal Noun, when preceded by *in*, was never followed by *of;* if Dr. Kellner had but opened *Reynard* at the very first page, the statement and the theory founded on it would have been at once overthrown by such instances as *in redyng* or *heryng of* it 4/9 *in redyng of* it 4/17 (See, moreover, our chapter *on the Pres. Participle and Verbal Noun.*)

the question of the influence of printing on the language, at large. It might be surmised that printing had the effect of fixing the language, of holding in check its alterations so that the linguistic change between Shakespeare and Caxton should be less marked than between Caxton and Chaucer. Now, this is not so much the case as might be expected. Let it suffice to refer for the present to the short survey we give hereafter of the chief peculiarities of our text. Of course many of Caxton's constructions still occur in Spenser or in Shakespeare, but we must not forget that poetic language is nearly always archaic, and if we compare Reynard, with prose works alone, then it strikes us that the affinities of Caxton are closer with the preceding than with the following age: the conclusion was deemed curious enough to be stated at the outset of this study.

There is another side of our text which ought to make it an object of especial interest to the Dutch or Belgian philologist. The celebrated printer, who for a long time resided at Bruges, translated his *Reynard*, from a Dutch *Reynard*, viz. as is generally believed from the *Hystorie van Reinaert die Vos*, printed by Gerard Leeu, at Gouda in 1479; the comparison of both texts has been rendered convenient by Muller and Logeman's edition of the latter, and it has already been proved that Caxton's vocabulary is saturated with Dutch elements: the question therefore arises, in how far did the same influence penetrate his syntax? Attention has been paid to this question throughout. Besides the English examples, the corresponding Dutch passages have generally been quoted either to prove or to disprove Dutch influence. This reference is omitted, however, and we trust the omission is justified,

in cases where we were able to adduce such English parallel instances as rendered it unnecessary, to our mind, to resort to the Dutch; indeed me found we had often to be careful not to ascribe to this influence such idioms as seem foreign only on account of an inadequate knowledge of Middle English prose; thus several of the peculiarities pointed out in our chapter on Style, which we were at first tempted to explain by the slavishness of the translation, turned out, on further investigation, to be characteristic of all the writers contemporary of Caxton. [1])

Although the Dutch element plays an important part in the language of our text, its influence remains, like that already observed in the vocabulary, of a sporadic, accidental nature; it does not follow definite tendencies, it does not consistently pervade any special portion of syntax [2]); therefore, it escapes classification and as it would be very difficult to bring it under definite heads, I can only refer to the numerous instances scattered through this work.

We did not rest satisfied with merely tabulating facts, but entered into their explanation and the discussion of their origin, whenever the current views were not convincing to us. Thus about, conditional sentences, where we dissent from Mätzner (see Tense), about the Accusative + Infinitive-Subject, where

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[1]) Let us quote, among cases where Dutch influence is only apparent, the Infinitive Absolute (See under Infinitive); the idioms *al be it* (See Conjunction); *alto longe* with the superlative sense (See Adverb).

[2]) Noteworthy cases of Dutch influence are: the indefinite use of *one* = *men* (See Indefinite Pron); — the use of the frequentative *all* before the Active Participle (See Active Pple); — the cases explained as ‚Predicative function' of the Passive Pple (*q. v.*).

we contradict Stoffel (See Infinitive); about various uses of the Conjunctions *that*, *and*, &c. [1]) Special attention was given to the problem of the French or native origin of certain idioms, as this seems to us one of primary importance in English philology. We could not always agree, on this subject, with Prof. Einenkel who is, as a rule, somewhat hasty in the assumption of French influence: the results furnished by Wülfing in his Syntax of the Works of Alfred were often used as a test.

Before leading the reader along the by-paths of our enquiry, it will be useful to determine, in a very general way, the position occupied by our text in the development of English.

As may be expected, our results do not vary much, in the main lines, from those summed up by Kellner, on p.p. CIX, CX of his work.

We must, however, take exception to the following statements made by this author:

1. „The Indefinite Pronoun *one* is not yet used: in its stead we find *men*".

Several instances of the indefinite use of *one*, which are very likely due to Du. influence, will be found in our chapter on Indefinite Pronouns.

2. „Constructions like ‚we are banished the court' are not yet in use; there seems to be still a rigid observance of the difference between Transitive and Intransitive Verbs, with regard to the Passive Voice".

In our chapter on Reflexive and Passive Verbs, where some instances of a great freedom in the use of the Passive are adduced (‚ye *be complained* on' —

[1]) Also about the idioms ‚strong theef that ye are' (See Cases), ‚as who saith' (Relat. Pron.), ‚the kyng hath *do proclamed* his pees' (Infinitive) &c.

,he sholde *be done to'* &c.) the modern freedom to convert complements in the Dative, or prepositional complements into the subjects of a passive construction will be found represented by several instances. — For beginnings of the construction of the Infinitive Passive, see *Infinitive.*

3. „The Infinitive absolute is still in use". It should be added at least that this use is very rare, since Kellner himself was only able to adduce two instances from Caxton (Introduction, LXIII). We found only one in *Reynard.* See *Infinitive.*

We can corroborate the following points:

1. *Ye* not *You* is still the Nominative of the 2nd pers. plur. of the Personal Pronoun.

2. Adjectives referring to preceding nouns are not yet followed by *one.*

3. The Personal Pronoun, when a subject, is still very often omitted.

4. *Self* is still considered an Adjective as seen by the 3rd pers. plur. *themselfe*, never *themselves.*

5. *Who*, in the Nominative, as Relative Pronoun, is still unknown.

6. Agreement between tenses is not yet strictly observed.

7. The arrangement of words is much freeer than in later times.

We should add a few remarks.

The Personal Pronouns *they*, *them*, &c. seem to retain something of their original demonstrative meaning, (see Pers. Pronoun).

The simple form of the Reflexive Pronoun is still more usual than the compound form with *self* (*contra,*

Kellner, *Outlines*, § 299); we find a plural *them selven* which is interesting for the history of the connection Pers. Pron. + *self* (See Reflexive and Emphatic Pronoun).

Possessive Pronouns are found preceded by the Article (See Posses. Pronoun).

The absence of the Relat. Pron. *the whiche* in *Reynard* is striking (see Relat. Pron.)

Simple forms of the Imperf. Subjunct. are usual besides compound forms with *should* or *would* and are frequently found in conditional sentences (see Tense).

Several Verbs are used in the Reflexive Voice which have since been converted into Intransitives (see Reflexive and Passive Verbs).

The simple Infinitive still interchanges with the Infinitive preceded by *to*, *for to*; in the struggle between these various forms, the Preposition *to* is sometimes introduced where we should now omit it; and whereas *for to* has often no more force than a formal element, we sometimes find the idea of purpose implied by the simple *to*.

The Infinitive construction had not a very wide range in Caxton; for, on one hand, the Infin. with an Accusative as *Subject* of the sentence and the Infinitive absolute were falling into disuse; on the other hand, the personal construction was still preferred in cases where Latin imitation, and, later on, the modern tendency towards shortness of expression, have since introduced the Infinitive (See *Infinitive*).

The adverbial and absolute use of the Present Pple as well as of the Past Pple seem hardly to have been developed. (See *Participle*).

There are several facts which point to a stage of the language where the way of thinking was, on the

whole, less abstract and less synthetic than now; note the ‚before-putting' of *that* (See Demonstr. Pron.), various uses of the Conj. *and* and *that* (See *Conjunction* and also *Style*).

Other peculiarities of language worth noting are: cases of double Genitive and the use of the opposition instead of the Genitive (See *Genit.*);

the ‚before-putting' of the Demonstr. *that* as Object (Demonstr. pron.);

One preceded by a Def. Article, a Demonstrative or a Possessive = one of two ‚his one eye' (See Indef. Pron);

the Past Participle instead of the Infinitive after *do*, ‚the kynge hath *do proclamed* his pees' (see Infin.), a case for which we find a few parallels in the Paston Letters;

the construction ‚the wythholding you fro it' where the Verbal Noun, although preceded by the Article as a Substantive, is yet followed by a Direct Object (see Noun).

The Past Participle with active sense on the model of O. E. forworht, forsworen, &c.

To conclude, we can only repeat what has been stated above and say, with Kellner (Introd. to Blanchardyn, CIX): „Caxton's Syntax, on the whole, is nearer Chaucer than Shakspeare; and there is a still greater kinship between his prose and that of the fourteenth century, than that of the Elizabethan age. In reading Caxton's books, the general impression resembles very much that received by reading *the Tale of Meliboeus* or even *Maundeville*; and the results of a minute analysis agrees with that impression".

Besides being much more developed than Kellner's our study differs from the latter in method.

Whereas Kellner draws parallel instances chiefly

from authors contemporary or nearly contemporary of Caxton, we have tried by a systematic comparison with much earlier and later periods, to connect the facts with the entire history of the English tongue. An effort has been made that each chapter should form a whole and give an idea of the life of the language.

Perhaps the story of *Reynard*, the popularity of which gives a typical character to many an instance drawn from it, was not ill-chosen to be thus considered at length.

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ARTICLE.

Definite Article.

‚The' was originally a Demonstrative, O. E. *se* (*þe*), *séo*, *þaet*. We must bear the fact in mind, not only in this chapter, but when we shall speak of the demonstrative *that*, which is sometimes used as an article.

WITH PROPER NAMES. With regard to names of rivers, usage varies in Caxton, as in Chaucer (Einenkel, *Streifzüge*, 4). Thus besides

‚the lande between *the* elve and *the* somme' 39/16.

we find:

‚wene ye that I wille lede yow to flomme yordyn' 42/10.

Last case is interesting, as a noun in apposition is placed before the name; this seems to have been usual with „Jordan" cp. Mätzn. III, 174.

In O. E., names of rivers were used either alone, without article, or with an apposition *ea*, river, and then, often with article: *ea Danai*, *Donua seo ea*, and (Wülfing, *Synt. Alfreds* I, 280).

With proper nouns preceded by some attribute, the article may be expressed:

‚thenne spacke the rede reynaert 13/30,

or omitted:

‚Art not thou one of the possessors of *grete troye* 48/8, that have ye of *almyghty god* by inheritaunce of your noble progenytours' 91/25.

This omission is frequent in Chaucer. In O. E. on the contrary the article was expressed: *se wisa Plato*, *se eadiga Job* (Wülfing, op. cit. 278). The omission has been developed in modern times. Cp. Mätzn, III, 109 &c

for more instances from contemporary literature, Ellinger in E. St. xx, 397.

Note that *panther* is always used like *Reynart* as a Proper Noun:

‚Thenne spak panther... 6/32.

In the same way ‚*cony* lapreel' is found once instead of *the cony* (rabbit) 54/27.

Nouns of countries are generally used without article note however:

‚A clene noble beest named Panthera whiche fedeth hym bytwene *the grete Inde* and *erthly paradyse* 83/13 &c.

Note the omission before *erthly paradyse*, while the Dutch has

‚ende voedet tusschen dat grote India ende den aertschen paradyse' 108/29.

I may add a case where an Abstract Noun is personified, and consequently treated as a Proper Noun: ....(the frogs) muste obeye to *strenghte their kynge* 37/38 (*)

WITH ABSTRACT NOUNS, the article is often omitted espec. in adverbial expressions, with nouns preceded by Prepositions.

‚But that was *by counseyl* of evyl and foule beestis 90/16, deceyved *by wymmens counseyl* 56/31.

The omission of the article is esp. frequent before a noun preceded or followed by a Genitive. Einenk. p. 14, al. 2.

The omission also occurs with abstract nouns used as Object, Predicate, &c., sometimes giving the latter the appearance of an adjective or of an Adverb. Note especially the word *trouthe*:

(*) In Dutch: en moeten *den oudevaer horen coninck* onderdanich sijn 48/30. I believe we have here an interesting instance of slipshod translation. Caxton probably did not know the word *oudevaer* which he mistook for some abstract word. Note that a few lines before, he does not translate it: Dutch: seynde hem enen storcke ofte een oudevaer 48/25. English: sente to them a storcke 37/34.

‚I felt wel *it was throuthe* 37/25, Alas my lord *is this very trouthe* 81/6, *Is that trouthe* that you telle me 63/16, *ye saye trouthe* 7/17, *saye ye me trouthe* 21/4, what shold it avaylle me *yf I saide now other wyse than trouthe* 36/7, my lady here hath *saide* to you *trouthe* and gyven yow good counseyl 57/20, I have ofte herde men *saye trouthe and rightfully* 64/26.

It is probable there was some confusion between ‚trouthe' and the adjective *soth* which had the same sense (to saye soth, &c).

Late us praye the the kynge that he wille doe to reynart *ryght* of the lande, 79/26.

atte laste came he *in lyknes* of an heremyte 10/13; ther came olde wymen that *for age* (= because of their age) had not one toeth in their heed; god yeue *grace* that I may wel achieue it 19/34.

Moreover we find: gyve counseyl 43/14, gyue leue 47/21, have nede 12/11 &c. But the article is also found expressed, even in adverbial connections, with a preposition. Thus besides *bryng to deth* 40/9, *judged to deth* 31/9, we find: he was *beten almost to the deth* 26/18, ‚thaugh I were *dampned to the deth* yet ought ye to here my wordes out' 67/24, me thynketh he *is hurte unto the deth* 18/31.

Besides *al day*, adverbial accusative absolute: ‚yf ye abyde to morow *al day* ther may no mercy helpe you' 24/17, we find:

(I) counseyle you that ye reste you a lytyl for *it is by the daye* 104/10 (Du: *dat is biden daghe* 137/2); Me ought not to preyse to moche *the daye* tyl *euen* be come 75/8.

In Chaucer, with *day*, *night*, &c the article was also used or omitted, espec. after all (Einenk. 5, 22, al. 2).

Alle your enemyes shal *abide in the shame* 12/26;

There ben many that complayne on other and *ben in the defaute* them self.

The definite article is even found in sentences of a pro-

verbial character, before nouns used as subjects.

The connyng goth to fore *strenghte* 104/1. *The nede of hongre* breketh oth alway 76/16. There is none thyng byloved . . . nowadays but money) *the money* is better byloued than god 118/6.

In the next instance the def art. is used in an adverbial expression and has the value of a Possessive:

‚for I aduyse you *for the leste hurte* that ye and my lady goo bothe thyder 41/24 (Du: voer *uwen* minsten scade).

Einenkel quotes a few analogous cases from Chaucer: (*Streitzüge*, 19, al. 2, 3.)

The Omission of the def. art. occurs before Collective Nouns: ‚mertyn myn eme . . . whiche is wiser *in clergie* than somme preest' 68/14.

With Concrete Nouns: – before a Superlative used absolutely:

‚Thenne parys gaf to her th(e) apple and said that she was *fayrest* 84/22. Ysegryn and Bruyn ben now *most preuy* of counseyl aboute the kynge 39/38. Think ye it *best* to be don 40/29.

In Chaucer with adjectives in the Superlative used as nouns, the article was expressed or omitted (Einenkel, 28); –

Before a Noun used as Predicate:

‚Ye be *heed* of alle our lygnage 58/27.

Especially in adverbial locutions:

I wente never *to scole* 62/22, the wulf was had *to kychen* (Du: ter koeken) 90/30.

Usage varies with *court*:

The kynge *come to court* 12/16, but: *goo to the court* 15/22.

Note the omission of article with religious terms:

Sir bellijn ye shal *do masse* to fore Reynard 46/23 *receyue sacramente* 71/1, *Sette penaunce, receyve penaunce* (cp. O. Fr. ‚ouïr messe' and ‚aller à vêpres', &c.)

The use of the def. art. is, on the contrary, re-

markable in the following cases; — with a plural noun, used in a general sense:

Thus *the unkynde men* now adayes rewarde them that doo them good 89/1 (Du: Aldus soe loenen *die scalcke* ... 116/27;

— with a noun of substance, also used in a general way:

Is it thenne ernest that ye love so wel *the hony* 13/31 (Du: dat honich 17/28; (Cleomedes) ... rood upon that hors made of *the tree of hebenus* 85/14 (*tree* = ‚wood' as is shown by a preceding passage: ‚Kynge salomon seelyd his temple with the same wode ... hit is like to tre of hebenus of whiche wode kynge crompart made his hors of tree' 84/38);

— in adverbial expressions:

A croked staf wel leded on th(e) ende for to playe *at the balle* 16/21 (not so in Dutch: 21/15). Cp. in Chaucer: to play *at the chesse*, besides *at ches* (Einenkel, 19).

Indefinite Article.

A before consonants; *an* before vowels, — occasionally before *y*: *an Yongling* 89/37 and very consistently before *h*:

an high 12/7, *an herte* 63/11, *an hole* 38/25, *hawe* 49/16, *hound* 63/2, *hedche* 75/15, *hande* 115/8, *hynde* 99/23, *herty* 68/27, *hevy* 45/36, *halter* 32/13, *hete* 96/10, *hony* 20/34, *hardyer* 26/36, *and* for *an*: upon *and* heth 88/15.

Omission of Indefinite Article. — This is frequent, as it is now, with Abstract Nouns, in standing phrases, e. g. with a Noun object: *had knowledche* 58/31, *sette daye* 102/10, *gyve me respyte* 75/35. Such phrases are treated, to a certain extent as compound words, thus besides ‚gyve respyte', used absolutely, we find *gyve me respyte of* VIII *dayes*. — With a noun in adverbial

function: delyvered *fro peryl of deth* 75/11; — With a Noun-Predicate, which has then the character of an adjective:

it is reson: ... 8/30 it is reson that he abye it 53/11, it were wel reson that ye herde my words alle out 67/23, it is good reson and it ought so to be 109/22. — *It is wonder*: is it wonder that I hate hym 74/27. Cf. *was thaet micel wundor*, Alfr. Oros, 118/6.

(Wülfing, Synt. Alfr. I 290;

— *mervayl:* thynketh me mervayl of a kynge 89/34.

The omission of the article is also frequent before an adjective, as if the latter was considered a sufficient determinative for the noun, e. g before determinative adjectives:

hier behoveth other counseyl herto 31/22, he hath told the kynge of *certayn tresour* 57/35;

— espec. before adjectives of current meaning such as good, evil, great, long:

I have *good avauntage* 102/12, he oweth me *evyl wyl* 99/40, a graunte hym *long lyf* 38/15; I shold *do grete synne* 70/8 (Du: ic soude sondighen); a triew frende... fyndeth ofte *better counseyl* than he that the charge resteth on 68/21, it is *grete shame* 28/1, ther was thenne *grete feste* 112/29. (*)

The omission is striking where a particular object is meant:

I thold hym that ther was *grete tresour* in krekenpyt 49/27 (Du: *enen* schat); ther was *grete tresour* in hulsterlo 61/31. (N.B. *tresour* is, to a certain extent, a *Collective* noun); and also I have forgoten an thyng... and it was of *grete deceyte* that I dyde whiche I now wyll telle yow 61/40 (in Du: differently: *een* alten groten hoersscheyt 79/24); he was in better caas 94/7 (Not Du: dat was hem bet vergaen).

Omission before a Noun, without adjective:

(*) We are reminded by these instances of the French „c'est *grand dommage* — avoir *grand peur*, *grand faim*." — It is interesting to find that in the instances of omission of the Indef. Art. collected from Alfred by Wülfing (*op. cit.*, 290), there are several cases of a noun preceded by *mycel*.

he is so lusty fayr and *of colour* that ther is no colour under the heven, but somme lyknes is in hym 83/15.

(The Du: has a different constraction: Hij is also lusteliken schoen van verwen, 108/30).

After *never* the Art. may be omitted: ‚I sawe never fowler beest' 98/21, or expressed: ‚I sawe never *a* fowler meyne' 98/28. (The omission is frequent in Chaucer: Einenk. p. 6, refers to the same use in O. Fr. after *oncques*).

PRESENCE OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE is worth noticing in proverbial phrases:

it is a common Proverbe: *An* enemyes Mouth saith seeld wel 7/25 — In Du: on thy contrary = Vyants mont seit selden goet 9/27); —

with Abstract Nouns in adverbial locutions such as *with a good wille* in affirmative reply:

I spack out and saide ye(a) my lorde with a good will 91/36, I saide my lord wyth a good wyl 92/19, I wente to her *in a grete hevinesse* 95/5. Tho cam reyn. *in a grete angre* 106/7, Isegrym . . . thought he was *at an afterdele* 106/7 (In Du: differently: . . . dat hij 't te quaet hadde 140/33); —

Abstract Nouns used alone, are individualized by *a*;

devyse alesyng . . . that men take it for *a throuthe* 64/37 ye be good to sende forth *in a nede* 92/17.

(Du: *ter noot* 121/19);

the Indef. Art. is unusual before *part* (Einenk., 8):

helpe me that I may have *a parte* of this hony 13/23.

A is found before nouns used as second objects:

the foure sworen . . . that they sholde *make bruin a kinge and a lorde;* . . . whan a covetous man of lowe byrthe *is made a lorde* 91/4.

Note also . . .

so that he myght wynne as moche as *a* legge (= the legge) of a fat henne 6/36, she gaf me a grete hen of *an* hynde 98/28; his visage was alle *on a blood* 101/4. In the last instance *a* probably = *one* and is due to influence of the Du

text: Sijn aensicht en was anders niet dan met *enen* bloede overloepen.

Indefinite article preceding a cardinal number:

he droof in the streem wel *a ij or iij myle* 17/14 (Differently in Du: *wel een mile* 22/21).

This use is rare in O. E.: *an fiftig* sealmas Aethelst, 3,3 (Koch § 127). It is found in Chaucer (Einenk., 15), is frequent in Berner's Huon, according to Kellner (Outlines, p. 141) is rare in Shakespeare (Abbott § 87) and still occurs in N. E. (instances from Carlyle in Mätzner III, 196). The origin is probably some case where the numeral was treated as a collective noun. Note also the use of the Def. Art. *the* before *one* = one of two:

blynde an the one eye 23/23 *The one* half .... *that other* half 92/20.

But before *one*, *other* the Def. Art. is nearly altogether replaced by the Demonstrative *that*, q. v.

Inversion and Omission of Article after *so*, *such*, *many*.

The construction ‚good a man' which was usual in Layamon, was already quite obsolete in Chaucer (Einenk. 19). The inversion of the article occurs:

1°. when the attributive adjective is preceded by an adverb expressing degree, such as *so*, *as*, *how*:

told them in *how* grete *a* venture he had be 39/20.

But the omission of the Art. in this case is not rare, e. g.:

after *how:* god how swete eyer is there 49/25, how grete drede he had 85/13 (*grete drede* may be regarded as forming, to some extent, one group):

after *so:*

I have so grette scatte and good of sylver... that seven waynes shold not conne carrye it away 35/14; they have so grete fordele 65/3 (In Du: somewhat differently: dat desen

aldus groet vordel geschiet); who shold luste to do that game to *one so* stedfast *a* wyf beyng in *so* grete peryll of deth 96/28; note the tautological construction *one* ... *a* (the Du. has simply: aen *eenre* ghestandenre vrouwen in *sulcker* sterfliker noot 127/8); after *as:* and hadde to fore hym *as* fatte capone as a man myght fynde 26/31 (Du: ende hadde *enen* vetten capoen ... als men vinden mocht 34/22).

The omission of the article also occurs in Chaucer, espec. with Abstract Nouns (Einenk. 19).

2°. After *such*, *many*, but usage varies.

I am in *suche* caas now that I muste nedes deye 35/34.

Art. expressed:

I am thenne in *suche a* thought 64/8

Many a dwelling-place 12/9, *many a* Chapel 23/9, gone to rome to parys and to *many an other* place 118/14 —

thus hath he brought me *many tyme* in scathe and hurte 97/21 (Not from the Du., which has: ‚dicke').

I knowe *so many an invencion* I shal come to myn above 33/29 (Du: ic weet soe menighen vont 43/15).

With *so many a*, cp. *full many a*: ‚The plain song cuckoo gray, whose note full many a man doth mark' Shakespeare (Mids. N. Dr. 3, 1).

In Chaucer the omission of the Art. after *many* is rare, (Einenk., 20).

Many + article occurs as early as Layamon. In Ormulum as wel as in O. E. *monig* is not followed by the article (Mätzn. III, 203).

Omission of Article in Enumerations.

The Art. is often altogether omitted when two or several objects are enumerated, compared, opposed, &c and may be regarded as forming groups.

I desire of your grace that I may have *male and staff* blessyd 46/20, I gaf hym *male and palster* and made of hym a pylgrym 56/27, *galowes and rocke* 24/19, — in the counseyllys of *lordes and prelates* 4/6; — It is your part to doo

Justyse on *thefte and murdre* whiche bothe ben in this caas 93/38 (In Du: likewise; roef ende moert 123/20).

The Article, when expressed once, need not be repeated with each particular Noun, no matter whether they are of the same gender, number, or not:

In this historye ben wreton the parables (good lerynge) and dyverse poyntes to be merkyd 4/2, the kynge and quene 35/28, *the wulf and bere* 47/14, — ye reysed and accompanyed yourself with *a cursyd and persone agravate* 43/23; — he knewe . . . alle *the herbes and nature of them* whiche were viscose or laxatyf 90/1.

A special mention is due, again, to the ‚doublets' or couples of synonyms. Here the two Nouns denote the same thing and form almost one word, so that the second follows the construction of the first and we cannot properly speak of an omission of the article . . .

the promyse and oth that he to fore made to hym 77/37, reynart is a *shrewe and felle* 11/30, *the shrewes and false deceyvers* ben borne up for to doo . . . alle the harme 30/63.

The same phenomenon occurs after an Art. + Adjective:

and yf I might see the serpent in *the same paryl and nede* that he was in — 77/23;

or after Possessive Pronouns:

above *his oth and promyse* he wold have devoured hym 77/2.

I should explain in a similar way the case where, after a Possessive Pronoun has been expressed once, a Defin. Art. is omitted before some following Noun; two Nouns although not quite synonymous are considered as forming a ‚doublet', — which gives rise to an anacolutlia:

Have pyte on myn grete and unresonable *damage and losse* of my fayre chyldren 10/41 (the Def. Art. *the* is here

omitted before *losse* in consequence of its being assimilitated to *damage*); — after this the kinge sente ffor *his lordes and wysest* of his counseyl 11/21 —

On the other hand, the Article is found repeated before several Nouns referring to the same object:

He is *a* very murderer, *a* rouer and *a* theef 6/34; which of *a* chorle and *a* traytour and worse than a theef wolde make *a* lorde and *a* king 38/12; *a* glasse or *a* mirror 83/8.

— before several Adjectives referring to the same Noun:

myn Eme is *a* gentil and *a* trewe man 8/39.

As to the origin of the ‚non-repetition' of the article in enumerations, Einenkel (p. 23) refers to a similar construction in O. Fr. espec. in Froissart. But the beginnings of this use may be found in O. E. Cp. Mätzn III, 193.

NUMBER AND GENDER.

Some hesitation seems to be felt by Caxton about the Number of collective nouns, and manifests itself in the personal pronouns he uses in reference to them. For instances, see Pers. Pronouns.

Caxton has some plurals without *s*, e. g. *myle*, *marke*, *yere*, *thynge*, &c (cp. Römstedt, Engl. Schriftsprache bei Caxton, p.p. 37, 38), which must not be mistaken for singulars. Perhaps we have a case of Singular, instead of Plural in:

I have made pees wyth hym and I gyve to hym his lyf and *membre* frely agayn 44/8 (Du: syn lyf ende syn leede 56/25. *Membrys* is the usual plural form but Caxton may have taken Du. *leede* for a singular.

The Plural for the Singular is found in the word *condicions*:

Ye be of good *condicions* and goostly of your lyvyng 48/12; he muste be a noble gentle man and have no chorles condicions 82/41; Thus shewde he his *condicions* and nature 92/1.

Alms, O. E. aelmesse Gr. ἐλεημοσύνη is still spelt almesse 9/3, 28/24, as in the whole M. E. period (Stratmann, *i. v.* elmesse).

The next passage shows hesitation as to the Gender of *lesyng*:

The *lesyng* oftymes cometh unavysed and falleth in the mater unwetyngly. And so whan *she* is well cladde *it* goth forth thurgh with that other 60/30. The Du. has the feminine *si*, *se*.

Remember that in O. E. *séo léasung* as well as *séo leornung* and all abstracts in *ung*, *nis*, &c., were feminine.

Names of animals are, as a rule, considered masculine, and the word *beest* is referred to by *he* (not *hit*): Ther was no beest in al his lande... but *he* was there 54/18; ther is no beest so fiers ne stronge but he can dompte hym 81/39.

CASES.

Nominative.

The Nominative stands for an original Dative in *he was woo* 44/31, cp. Kellner, Outlines § 151; Einenkel, 113. The confusion of case has brought about changes of syntactical relations, viz., the impersonal verb has become personal & the substantive *woo*, has become an adjective. We probably have an adjective in: that shal make *hym so woo* 103/35, Reynard *was woo* 118/16. But *woo* is still substantive in: *woo begon* 107/5, for *woo* and payne he must creye 111/8, this payne dyde hym more sorow *woo* 111/16; Substantive used as a quasi-Interjection in: *woo to me* 81/6; O *woo be* to that lande 92/31.

Dative.

A Dative, reminding us of the *datives incommodi* is found in: yf he be *me* to myghty 50/17. The Dative with *to* occurs very regularly after *like*: hit is *like to* tree of hebenus 84/38, *cf* 64/27, 17/19, 78/23, 115/36; after

nigh, nere, to is often omitted, e. g. yf this were trewe it shold go to *nyghe myn honour and worship* 95/26.

See moreover under Prepos. *to* and *for* and our chapter on Transitive & Intransitive Verbs. It will be found that the distinction between mediate (indirect) and immediate (direct) object was not yet clearly defined. The Dative was used in cases where we now prefer the accusative, e. g. after *pray* (‚pray to God...') and vice-versa.

Accusative.

The use of the Accusative absolute was very developed (as in Chaucer, *cf.* Einenkel, 50 &c). It gave rise to many adverbial locutions and will be therefore mostly treated of in the chapter on Adverbs. The Accusative absolute may apply to time:

The kynge dyde forth wyth his courte and feste(d) lengthe X I J dayes lenger 54/5,6 (*) In this passage ‚X I J dayes' is the usual Accusative of duration, but the pleonastic use of the abstract noun *lengthe* is strange and I have vainly looked for a parallel case.

The Accusative may also apply to space and distance:

yf he wold he shold be within lesse than on hour *an hondred myle* thens 85/3; He was gone *more ten myle* awaye 85/10.

(Du: over tien mijlen 111/26).

Note in the last passage the omission of *than* after the Comparative. Perhaps a survival of the O. E. construction ‚*me* is a snaegl *swiftra*'?

The Accusative of measure may originate compound Substantives:

(*) The (d) after *feste* is erroneously inserted by the editor, *cf* „courte and feste" on title p. 5; on the other hand *lengthe* may be considered as a verb = *lengthen*, as the Du. text shows: Die coninck dede ter stond sijn hof xij dage verlangen 69/11.

he gate leve for to have as moche of the beres skyn upon his ridges as *a foote longe* and *a foot brode* 45/6. *foote longe, foot brode* may be compared to *furlong* = furrough long, the length of a furrough.

The Accusative denotes value in cases of ‚imaged negation':

he had not trespaced *the value of an heer* 29/32, alle shal not helpe yow *a strawe* 30/10, it shold not avaylle me *a cattes tayl* 50/14; I care not *an heer* 60/12 (*Cp.* not, nought = *nâ wiht*; French ne *pas*, ne *point*, &c.)

Lastly the absolute Accusative indicates manner, reference: *wytnes of maister abrion* 82/11, *i. e.* ‚according to maister abrion'. The same idiom occurs in Chaucer, only there we find the preposition *on* instead of *of* (Einenkel, 65); – ‚he lete the foxe saye *his wylle*' 18/15; the sense, as shown from the context, is not ‚express his will', but ‚say as much as he would say'. – Note the use of that in:

The serpente answerd I have not trespaced, and *that* (= as to that) I reparte me hoolly un(to) the kyng 77/4 (Du: Ic gae *des* claerliken aan den coninck 98/30.

Vocative.

The article is sometimes retained before a Noun in the Vocative case, espec. before a Noun in apposition, which assumes more or less the value of a proper name:

he called lowde kywart *the* hare come here to fore the kynge 42/12 (See, on this use, Kellner, Outlines, § 223).

‚*Strong theef that ye are*' 101/25, in the sense of the modern ‚you theef' (in Du: *felle dief reynaer* 133/24). Mätzner does not mention this use, but simply speaks of a vocative which has the value of a predicate in

such instances as ‚ye fools', ‚you little jade: which he refers to the O. E. *þu avordena . . . þu stunta*, Math. 5, 22. (Mätzn. II, 171).

Einenkel treats of the construction under Conjunction *that* in Paul's Grundriss 916 § 143 (1st édit.), and quoted two instances: *Wrecche mon þet þu hit art!* Kath. *Fox that ye ben!* Chaucer. (*)

It seems to me that, even in starting from the *causal* meaning of the conjunction *that*, we cannot arrive at a plausible explanation. I would suggest that *that* is here a Relative, and a good illustration of the transition from demonstrative into relative meaning (see Relat. Pronoun). To me, the whole phrase is the upshot of two tendencies: tendency to emphasize a judgment by means of repetition, — tendency to abbreviate this repetition, so as to make it compatible with the *exclamation*. Supposing I want to lay some stress on the opinion that ‚you are a thief' or that ‚John is a thief', I shall say: ‚You are a thief, you are, — John is a thief, he is' (ar also: ‚J. is a thief, is John'!) If, now, I wish to transpose this from the nominative into the vocative case, from the form of the judgment into that of the apostrophe, I may say: ‚thief! . . . you are a thief! — thief . . . ! — *that* you are' (= you are *that*, viz. a *thief*, the Demonstrative being used to avoid the repetition of *thief*); — finally in the vehemence of speech, the stop between the two sentences will disappear, the two will

(*) . . . . . „wofür", adds Einenkel, „bis jetzt nur roman. Analoga, Ital. *Pazzo che tu sei* — Frz. jûnger, Diez III, 119".

Littré, speaking of such cases as „Infortuné que vous êtes' — Aveugle que j'etais" refers to similar cases without exclamation, e. g. „La cruelle qu'elle est (viz. la mort) se bouche les oreilles et nous laisse crier" (Malherbe), which he explains by „la cruelle *laquelle* elle est". However Littré's explanation is very vague: „*que*, construit avec un Adjectif et le verbe *être* fait une sorte de locution qui signifie *étant*".

Note, among the older references adduced by Littré, the next one from Froissart (I, I, 317): „Et lui accorderent que *une poignée de gens qu'ils étaient* avoient desconfit le roi d'Ecosse et toute sa puissance.

coalesce, and *demonstrative coordination* well be changed into *relative subordination*: ‚thief that you are!'

Genitive.

VARIOUS WAYS OF EXPRESSING THE GENITIVE.

The analytic form, with *of*, was already usual in Chaucer, for all the functions of the Genitive. *Of* is generally preferred with the objective Genitive, but it will be seen under Preposition *of* that it appears also where the sense is a subjective one. *Of* is almost exclusively the form of the *genitivum qualitatis*; however, the synthetic form here and there occurs in this acception; this Genit. is quite equivalent to an adjective.

god gyve hym *a shames deth* that hath loste suche good venyson 17/31 (Not Du: dat god u sceynde, &c).

This makes it possible that we have a similar case, with apocope of the ending *es*, in:

tolde to her that ther was no *deth wounde* ne peryl of his lyf 116/85 Cf. your doughter that lyeth here dede we shal gyve unto her *the dethes right* 11/8.

Note also *winters day, night*, where we should use a compound noun:

he laye thre wynters longe nyghtis in the feelde 82/9; hit was so that in a wynters day that they wente to gyder 94/23.

Likewise in Chaucer and Gower, we find ‚a lives creature' Cf. Kellner, XVI, 3; Kellner, *Outlines*, § 166; Einenkel, p. 170.

We find a few survivals of O. E. flexion, without *s*:

an *egge shelle* 110/20 (O. E. feminine *ja* - stem, Cf. t. Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache*, § 207), the *belle* rope 26/13 (O. E. *belle* — *an*). Tho spack Grymbart the dasse and was Reynarts *suster sone* 7/23. (On the declension of *suster* and other nouns of relationship, cf t. Brink, § 215).

Note in the last instance and in the following, the accumulation of interdependent genitives, which should now be avoided:

How grymbert the dasse the foxes susters sone spak 7/20. This use is old. Cf. Mätzner III, 326. For instances from Chaucer, Einenk., 84.

Forms ending in *s* remain unflected in the Genitive. Therefore the analytic form was preferred for the numerous proper names in *us*, *es* and this practice was probably extended to all proper names (Einenk., 84). Here is an instance of synthetic unflected form:

it is helene king *Menelaus* wyfe of Greece 84/19. *Priamus sone* 84/5.

This passage exhibits a peculiar word-order which is also found in the Du. original (‚dat is des conincs wyf van grieken' 110/22). But the case is an instance of the well-known Early M. E. construction ‚the kinges sune Henry'. When a word in the Genitive is folfowed by an apposition, the governing word is placed between the genitive belonging to it and its apposition. Certain connections of Preposition + Noun are treated like simple appositions so that the construction is found where we now use the so-called ‚group genitive' (Cf Jespersen, *Progr. in language*, espec. p. 293, &c. typical instance: *the Queen [of England's power)*. Besides the passage just quoted, note:

I had in the popes palays of woerden a good bedde of heye 73/16 (Du: in des paeus hof van woerden). With any name of dignity other than *pope* a confusion would arise with the preceding case and *of woerden* would be referred to *pope*. Both forms of Genitive are used here besides each other to denote two different relations of the word *palays*. Cf. in Chaucer, *kynge Priamus sone of troye* (Einenkel, 83.)

When several Genitives belong to some word to which they stand in the same relation, the governing

word may be omitted after one of them, — espec. in comparisons. Instead of substantives in the Genit., we may find a subst. besides a possessive pronoun, which shows that the latter sometimes retains its original value of a Genitive:

Come forth alle ye that ben of *my* kynne and *reynarts* 79/25; Yet was *his* strenghte and myght moche more than the foxes 107/7.

Double Genitive, (Kellner's ‚pseudo-partitive genitive'): ‚A fellow *of his*'. The term ‚pseudo-partitive' is justified inasmuch as in such cases as ‚that beautiful face of hers' no idea of partition is included. (Kellner, Outlines, § 178). The construction was probably due to a blending of ‚a felaw his' and ‚a felaw of him', which was further influenced by cases where the meaning was really a partitive one and by the remembrance of the O. E. constructions *seo heora jugoþ*, *seo heora gebyrd*, Einenkel, 86). In Chaucer this use is not yet developed after the Defin. Pron. *this*, *that*, nor with substantives: *That ilke proverbe of Ecclesiaste*, not: *of Ecclesiastes* (Einenk. *ibid*). It is therefore interesting to find the following instance in *Reynard*:

he sawe fro ferre come fleyng one *of seynt martyns* byrdes 19/37 (Du: doe sach hi van verre *enen sinte martijns vogelen* comen vlieghen 25/23).

Functions of the Genitive.

It is difficult to separate the syntax of the Genitive from the treatment of the preposition *of*. Most of the cases will be studied under that head and I shall devote the present chapter especially to the *Partitive Genitive* and related constructions.

The simplest case is that where this genit. was governed by comparatives or superlatives, by numerals, by interrogative or indefinite pronouns by substantives

denoting quantity. This use is old, remember the O. E. genitive after *hund*, *pusend* and other numerals.

In M. E. there was a tendency towards replacing the genit. by the simple *apposition* in these cases. So we find in Chaucer *a busshel venym*, *a morsel bred* (Kellner, Outlines, p. 109). But, says, Dr. Kellner, at the end of the 15th century, there was a stop in this development, and expressions like those just quoted ‚are not to be met with in Caxton'. This is going too far as may be seen from instances like: *an hondred men* 82/39, *a litle watre* 82/24. But it remains true that, possibly under influence of the Latin genit. partitive, there was a reaction towards the O. E. and Early M. E. use, and *of* was introduced even in expressions which had never been in the genitive. Of course, in some of the appositive phrases referred to, the genit. may have been simply disguised by the decay of case-endings. But in other cases the partitive relation was not expressed in any way, as the following instance will show: *what they gate they shold departe to eche the half* 87/12. Among the misunderstood constructions which I alluded to, one of the most interesting is that of *one* + Superlative. Cf. Chaucer, ‚one the beste knyghte' besides ‚one of the beste knyghtes' and the curious mixed construction ‚*Oon of* the grettest *auctour* that men rede' (Nonne Prest. T., 164, five mss., against one with *auctours*). The first supposition which arises is that *the beste* &c., is a genitive partitive and that such instances as ‚one the beste knyghte' are due to the weakening of inflections. But Einenkel, who discusses the matter at length (*Streifzüge* 87-90), shows that there is nothing to corroborate this view in the older language. If we go back to the Legend of Katherine (beginning of

the 12th century) we find cases like: *cum nu, my weddet, leovest an wummon*, w. 2419-29 (not *wummonne* nor — *menne*). And if we look for such O. E. instances as *þara betstra monna*, we find them to be very unusual indeed. In order to understand the case in point we must, according to Einenkel start from such cases as *þaer waeron þreo þa betstan ele* (Blickl. Hom., 73,21), or *Two the beste them slayn had I* (Guy, 8095) we come to the conclusion that ‚the beste' in ‚oon the beste' is an apposition and that the phrase means: the best of all (*) The author quotes after Grimm, the following parallel in M. Du. *ene die meste overdaet*, Reinaert, 137.

Chaucer, as a rule, introduces *of* after *one*; it is therefore worth mentioning that the original construction is met with in *Reynard:*

Yet was I unto the tyme that I was wened fro the tete *one the best chylde* that coude onwher be founden 34/22 — Likewise in Du: So was ic tot dat men mi speende *een dat beste kint* dat men ye ghevinden mocht 44/17; and on eche side of the byer wenten tweyne sorowful hennes that one was called cantart and that other good hen Crayant they were *two the fayrest hennes* that were bytwene holland and arderne 9/23.

In order to illustrate this appositive use of the superlative I further draw attention to the next passage:

He is *a Iewe The wysest* in connyng 82/1.

Besides this use of the apposition, another substitute for the partitive genitive is the attributive use of certain adjectives denoting quantity. Thus instead of *part of his army*, the O. E. had *sum his fultum*. Compare the construction of *half*: he gaf to me but *half the longes* 91/41.

(*) Einenkel paraphrases the expression in this way: der eine der zugleich der beste ist, oder der beste der zugleich einer, oder der einzige ist. (*Streifzüge*, 89, al. 6).

Closely related to this is the construction of substantives in the genit. which are very much alike to adjectives. In order to express the idea ‚all sorts of worms', the O. E. put it in a more concrete way and said ‚Worms of every kind', *alles cunnes wurmes*. (Cf. Kellner *Outlines*, 104—107). To this origin may be traced partitive expressions with *kinne* (kind), *manere* not followed by *of*, — with a noun in the Singular, ‚suche maner mete 48/15, such maner wayling 58/30, what maner wryting' 62/28; — with a Noun in the plural: such maner thyngys, all maner beestys 10/17, all maner langages 52/29, such maner lettres 63/15, al maner herbes 81/38, three maner colours 82/12. — We find also ‚*many figure playes*...' Instances with *of* also occur: ‚al maner of beestis 54/11, al maner of langages' 81/37.

N.B. The adjectival value of the words *manner* &c. in these cases account for constructions like ‚these sort of thyngs' which are not rare even in recent English. Cf. *Outlines*, § 172 and Franz. *Syntax des älteren Neuenglisch*, Engl. Stud. XVII, p. 390.

Elliptic partitive Genitive. The word governing a partitive genitive may be omitted. This was already the case in O. E. after verbs like *haebban*, *niman*, *etan*, *drincan*, (See Mätzner, II, 274, 275). The following instances remind us of this:

though the hony combes be swete... *take of them* by measure 14/34; there lerned I fyrst to *lapen of the* bloode ... And after I began to *taste of the flessh* 34/26,27.

This Gen. acquired a very wide expansion in M. E. It was used after all sorts of Verbs and not only with plural nouns, or nouns of substances but even with abstracts and with singular concrete nouns. Einenkel suggests that a possible origin of this use

was the change of meaning of such words as *ought*, *nought*, *anything*, *somthyng* which from independent words became negations or Indefinite Pronouns.

E. g.: yet this was *of the leste* = this was but the least thing (Du: noch dit was van den minsten) 35/8; this is *of* thy faders harneys 22/38.

‚who that wyl rede this mater though it be *of* iapis and bourdes'.

In connection with the Partitive Genitive, I wish to say a word about a change of meaning which seems to have taken place in some cases of its application. In an instance like O. E. *þúsend wigendra*, a thousand (of) warriors, the genit. implies that a group of a thousand has been taken *from* or *among* the warriors and the term ‚genit. partitive' is perfectly to the point. But suppose that we consider the warriors, not as a larger group from which a partion has been isolated, but as the units composing the collection of a thousand (any larger collection being left out of consideration), then the relation between the two words is changed. The idea of the thousand being a part of the warriors is superseded by that of each warrior being part of a thousand. The notions expressed by the two words become *co-extensive* and the function of the word in the genitive is very much alike to that of an apposition. This may be observed in N. E., in certain connections with a numeral + *of*, where the latter has the sense of ‚consisting of'. To a question about the number of persons attending some party, we may hear some such answer as: *there were five of us*, meaning, not that there were five ‚of us' and more of other sorts, which would be the usual case, — but that ‚the five of us' made up the whole party, that ‚we' = the party, were ‚five'. If we keep the term ‚genit.

partitive' to denote this relation, it is well to be warned that a somewhat different thing is meant, than in the ordinary cases. (*) I may perhaps be pardoned for making an observation which is not quite relevant, — as I do not find it made anywhere.

(*) ‚Collective Genitive' would perhaps be more apposite.

ADJECTIVE.

Instances of adj. agreeing in gender and number with a noun are very rare. In Chaucer, *the Concord of the adjective* is not unfrequent with French adjectives following the noun and taking the plural *s*: *places delitables*, *thinges espirituels* (see t. Brink, *Chaucer's Spr.*, 132). In Caxton, comp. on the contrary:

He shold I trowe be herde bothe wyth *the lordes spyrytuel and temporel* 117/19. — Note, however: *Many good diverses metes* 60/29; ther were thre *hebrews names* therin 81/35 (Du: drie hebreesche namen).

ADJECTIVES USED SUBSTANTIVELY.

With a personal sense:

Though Reynard be a shrewe ther be many *good* of his lignage 31/33. I knowe hym for *the moste noble* that now lyveth 83/4.

With a neutral sense: *ye saye soth* 24/28 (cp. Einenkel, 32); frequently in adverbial locutions with *at*, espec. with adj. in the Superlative: „*atte longe* it shal be wel knowen" 78/32 (Du: „Men sal noch *om lanck* wel vernemen" 101/6). Cp. the French ‚à la longue' (*). *Atte laste* is a somewhat dubious case. According to Einenkel (*Streifzüge* 32), *laste* is an original substantive, O. E. *lâst* = track. (See, however, Bülbring, E. Stud. XII, 290);

Ye knowe al thyng *at the narewest* 65/34; — I hope to come *at alther lengest* with in fyve dayes agayn 61/19 (Du:

(*) Such formations as „à la longue", „à la dérobée", „à la légère" are old in French (Darmesteter, Gr. hist., § 260) but I am not able to give a special O. Fr. reference for „à la longue".

ten alren lenghesten 78/32). Note here the adverbial use of *alther* and compare: two birchen trees standyng *alther* next the pytte 41/27 (for the *strong* genitive *alther* = *alder*, *aller*, see t. Brink, *Chauc. Spr.*, § 255); — seke every man *upon his feblest and wekest* 64/34 was probably influenced by Du: *op sijn weeckst* 83/93.

Adjectives in Apposition may refer to a Collective Noun:

Thenne *the counseyl* concluded *olde and young* that he shold be sente fore 19/6.

Caxton does not use *one* after an adj. referring to a preceding noun, e. g.: ,he stal the grete thynges and I *the smalle* 35/1 (Kellner found only *one* instance in the works of Caxton where *one* is used, cp. Kellner, Blanchardyn XXVIII). The *syntactical function* of the Adj. is peculiar in the next passages, where we must admit an ellipsis of *to be*:

who that wold have all leseth alle *ouer covetous was never good* 95/35. The Du. has likewise: al te gierich en was nye goet 126/6. I wolde yet this nyght make that ye shuld be ful of myes, — reynard quod he *ful that were many* 21/15. Dutch: zat dat waer al vele 27/22.

ADJECTIVE USED AS SECOND OBJECT. In a construction with two Accusatives, viz. with a Noun-Object and an Adjective-Object, the second may have the value of a predicate, *i. e.* denote the result of the action expressed by the verb. This use is but briefly treated of by Mätzner (II, 216) and by Koch (p. 110). Einenkel, speaking of the case ,As he that wery was forgoo' thinks of the German ,sich müde gehen', but prefers to explain the passage by an omission of *and* between *wery* and *forgoo* (Einenk. 37). In Reynard, there are some interesting instances of analogous constructions:

(1) In the Active voice:

The kynge hath *skylled hym quyte* of alle his brokes 44/22 (for the sense of *skylled*, vid. Muller & Logeman, LII). The Du. has a different construction: heeft *hem alle sijne brocken quijt gelaten* 57/5.

And whan he had *eten his bely fulle* 69/5, id. 99/28, 99/39; the Du. uses *different* constructions: doe hi ghenoech hadde &c. castyng wyth his feet the duste that it *flewe the wulfis eyen ful* 106/2 (The Du. has: dede hem sijn oeghen vol stuven).

(2) In the Passive:

and there upon was a marble stone *polished* as *clere* as ony glas 11/17 (Not so in Du: een pollyst marmorsteen — *die* also claer was als een glas): (the lettres) be *redy wreton* 51/9 (not so in Du: ... sijn alrede ghescreven).

COMPARATIVE.

Before the Comparative, the use of the proportional *the* with the sense Latin ‚*eo*' corresponding to the O. E. instrumental *þíj* is frequent and often nearly expletive:

lete his male slyde of(f) by cause he wold be *the lighter* 87/37; he wolde love and rewarde hym so wel that he sholde ever be *the better* 88/25; I was in myn even song therfore have I *the lenger taryed a lytyl* 12/36.

The Comparative occurs instead of the *Superlative* when two objects are compared:

and bytwen the *gretter* teeth and the *smaller* is a large felde and space ... 83/29 — Yet thought the foxe I have good avauntage ... he (the wulf) shal be somwhat *the weyker* 102/15.

SUPERLATIVE.

Among various ways of expressing the Superlative *absolute (Intensive)*, we may note the compounds with *over: overcovetous* 95/35. (Du: overgierich), he was to me *overswyft* 61/37 (Du: te cloeck), *overgrete* 56/36, *overnyce* 56/24, *overgood* for me 89/13 — *Overmuch a* fool

110/36. This use of *over* is old. Compare Chaucer: ‚over grete a point of compas', ‚over large a spender', Einenk., 20.

Note also *richer than rich* = very rich: ‚thenne shal thou be *richer than riche*' 84/12. In Du: ‚Soe bistu boven allen rijcken rijck' 110/12.

More, *most*, and even, *much* are used as Adjectives (likewise in Chaucer, Einenk. 39):

I trowe that never man sawe *more* (= greater) wonder 26/34; as I sawe her (viz. the she-ape) me thought she semed *more* (greater) than ysegrym the wulf and her chyldren were *more* than I 98/27,28; — ther fonde I the *moste* plente of silver and of golde that ever I sawe 38/39 —

perhaps *much* is an Adj. = ‚great' in:

there is *much thyng* complayned an yow. Cp. „This olde folke can *mochil thyng*", Chaucer, quoted by Einenkel, 39. (*Thyng* might also be a plural, Ch. Römstedt, 38, and, in this case, *mochil* would be an Indefinite Pronoun).

Very is still an adjective (as in modern ‚the very same' . . .) = real, true, e. g.:

he is a *very* murderer 6/33, ye shal wel understande the very yonste and good wyl that I bere to you ward 14/15.

Quite is also used as an Adj. (= O. Fr. quitte, cp. Stratmann).

Thus we were *quyte* of reynart a longe whyle 10/12.

Ye shal goo *quyte* of all the complayntes that ben complayned on you 24/25 (Du: id.) *skylled hym quyte*, etc. 44/22.

PRONOUN.

Personal Pronoun.

The distinction between the Nominative *ye* and the oblique cases *you*, *yow* is very consistently observed, e. g.:

my lord if *ye* wil have worship *ye* muste do herfore Justyce and avenge *you* in suche wyse as men may fere and holde of *yow* 56/4. Grymbert sayde wel dere eme what thynge shal *you* lette *ye* knowe al thyng at the narewest 65/33.

It appears from instances collected by Franz (Synt. des älteren N. E., E. Stud. XVII, 215) that even in the 17th c. *you* had not entirely supplanted *ye* in the Nominative. *Ye* was considered more solemn and used, e. g., in Milton's Adresses to the House of Commons.

The, *thou* sometimes interchange with ‚ye, you' in a same passage without any appreciable shade of meaning.

Thenne saidest *thou* aunte sprynge in to that boket that hangeth there and *ye* shal come anon to me, I dyde so, and I wente dounward, and *ye* cam upward tho was I alle angry, *thou* saidest thus fareth the world . . . 97, al. 1.

Sometimes *thou* denotes contempt, anger, menace. In the following speech of Reyn. to the wolf, *you* is first exclusively used, whereas *the* is used alone in the second part, where Reyn. pretends to be a judge.

Tho came reyner in grete angre and bote hym thre grete woundes in his heed wyth his teeth, and said what is that syr wulf hath one there byten *yow*, how is it wyth *yow*, I wyl al otherwyse on *yow* yet abyde I shal brynge yow somm newe thyng, *ye* have stolen many a lambe and des-

troyed many a simple beest . . . al this shal I now avenge on *the*, I am chosen to reward *the* for *thyn* old synnes for god wyl no lenger suffre *the* in *thy* grete ravayne and shrewdnes, I shal now assoyle *the* and that shal be good for *thy* sowle take paciently thys penance for *thou* shalt lyve no lenger the helle shal be thy purgatorye . . . 106, al. 2.

Cp. Abbott §§ 231—34 for the use of thou, you in Shakesp. and especially for the history of the growth of *you* at the expense of *thou* in the 17th and the 18th century, see Franz. *op. citat.* E. Stud. XVII, 216—221.

Omission of Personal Pronoun.

Cases of omission of Pers. Pr. are frequent in O. E., M. E. and Old French. The phenomenon may be accounted for by the originally synthetic nature of Aryan languages.

Following Kellner, I shall distinguish between the omission of the Pers. Pr. as Subject and as Object, in Coordinate and in Subordinate sentences (Kelln. XXXII).

(A.) Subject-Pronoun omitted.

(1) In coordinate sentences, having the same subject:

Tho was the foxe sorier and hevyer then to fore was mery and (*he* omitted) was as angry and sayde 17/28.

Note the next passage where a Verb with Pers. Pr. omitted is set in parallel with a Latin Verb:

now herke dere cosyn what I shal saye Confiteor tibi pater of alle the mysdedes that I have don and (*I* omitted) gladly wil receyve penance for them 25/35.

The coordinate clauses may be themselves subordinate to some principal sentence:

I muste saye what my gryef is (. . . that is to wete) that ye have don a foule and shameful trespaas whan *I* had pardonned you alle your offencis and trespacis and ye promysed to goo over the see on pylgrimage and (*I* omitted) gaf to you male and staf 72/22.

Instances abound, especially after *and* which serves as a support for the Verb and replaces, as it were the Pers. Pron. — Cf. 5/13, 14/30, 26/17, 27/9, 87/27, 113/33.

(1*b*) The coordinate sentences may have a different subject. The case has been overlooked by Kellner. We may first mention the case where there is only a discrepancy between grammatical subjects, — the logical subject being common to both sentences:

hym lusted no lenger to smyte the bere, but (he) called dame Iuloke in the water 16/39; *it* repenteth hym and (he) is sory that he ever hath . . . trespaced agenst you 53/23.

Other cases where the omitted Pronoun has to be supplied from the context:

tho the provende of six monkes was not suffycient to hym and (*he*) had not enough to &c. 43/21. Thenne he unlosed hym and delyverd hym out of the snare and (they) wente forth to gydre a good whyle 75/27; and who somever bereth on hym these thre names, he shal never be hurte by thondre ne lyghtnyng ne no witchcraft shal have power ne (shal) (*he*) be tempted to doo synne 82/7; Nevew now be ye sure fro alle myschief and drede, and (*I*) counseyle yow that ye reste you a lytyl 104/9.

(2) When the subject is the same in a principal and a subordinate sentence, the pronoun is omitted

(*a*) in the subordinate sentence:

Tho was the foxe sorier and hevyer than to fore (*he*) was mery 17/29.

(*b*) in the principal sentence:

And so (*I*) departed thens meryly that I so wel had spedde 99/33;

(3) The subject is not the same in the principal and in the subordinate sentence, and has to be supplied in the latter from the context, e. g. from some oblique case:

So is it now knowen to you alle by hys owen wordes that (*he*) is a diffamer of wymmen . . . 96/25.

For similar instances in *Blanchardyn,* see Kellner XXXIV.

(4) *It* preceding impersonal Verbs is omitted.

According to Kellner, there are but two instances of this omission in *Blanchardyn.*

The fact is much more frequent in *Reynard.*

We first notice the omission of *it* in comparative clauses, where it still occurs in N. E. (Mätzn. II. 33).

... *as is* to god wel acceptable 64/4 ... *as* moche as in hym *is* 96/26; — in lyke wyse *is* fallen to me 68/25; they take hede of nothyng but on theyr synguler prouffyt yet ben they take up and rysen grete, the more pity is 87/8; *so fareth* by me 89/36; *Thus thinketh* me a ryghtful lugement 78/4.

Generally a logical subject is also expressed:

where grete courtes ben gadred ... where as *nedeth* subtyl counseyl 24/37; whan nede is 103/21, what hurted the foxe to speke fayre 90/15; *methinks, methought* are usual. The following passages seem to be copied from the Du:

there lyeth not on 19/30 (Du: daer en ligt niet an), perhaps *not = nought* and must be considered as Indefin. Pr. — me growlett 100/2 (Du: *mi gruwelt*).

The omission is old but *hit, þaer* are O. E. also. Mätzn. II, 17. *It* is of course omitted when *there* is used in connection with the Impers. Verb. *There* may be postponed to the Verb': yet ‚standeth ther more' 73/34. It may be omitted altogether: ‚We ben so nygh of kynne eche to other that of right *shold be* angre bytwene us' 109/16.

(B) The omission of the Pers. Pr. as object is very rare (Kelln., XXXIV). — I was not able to find any case in point in *Reynard.*

PLEONASTIC PERSONAL PRONOUN.

Besides the omission of Pers. Pronouns there is the converse phenomenon, viz. their occurrence where

they would at present be considered pleonastic. The important use of a ‚supplementary Pronoun' after adjective clauses will be examined under the Relative Pronoun.

Other instances are, with Subject-Pronoun:

Bruyn the bere and ysegrym the wulf *they* be plegge for me 48/35 (Du. *die* 62/22. Maister abrion of tryer *he* is a wyse man 81/37.

(Du: *dat* is een alte wise man 106/15).

With Objective Pronoun:

the smal fethers he slange them in wyth the flesshe 55/35. (Not Du., cp 71, 26). And the debate bytwene yow I holde it on me 113/7 (the same in Du. 149, 3) (*)

The Pers. Pron. of the 2nd Pers. is found with an Imperative:

follow ye me 14/19 *sorrowe ye* not 14/37 *saye ye* me trouthe 21/4 *be ye* (mercy ful, sure, &c.) 36/17, 52/1, 73/33, 104/9, *do ye* wel and folow her 57/21, *deme ye* no man 73/35 (Transl. of ‚nolite judicare'), *aske ye* hym 101/29, *thynke ye* on the example 110/1, that shal he ever be and thynke ye not the contrary 116/14 O. E. — Cf Kelln. Outlines § 259.

The Pron. ye appears also in connection with the vocatives ‚sirs', ‚lords', &c. But it is difficult to distinguish it from the Adv. *ye* = yea (See Adverb. p. 4).

In *ye* tybert saye me trouthe 21/4, *ye* translates the Du: *Iae* tybert segdi mi oec waer 27,11 ... In *ye* lordes and sires what saye ye hereto, *ye* stands for Du. *ghi* (Ghi heren wat segdi hier toe 74,20) — *ye lordes* 23/29 (Du: ghi heren 30,30); — And thenne he sayde *ye* sires I brynge to you a faste pardon 53/20 (Du: *ghi* heren Ic breng u enen vasten vrede 68,21).

It is sometimes used redundantly, at least without referency to any, but a very vague object;

ye have also my wyf shamed and sklandred that she shal

(*) The repetition of the Pron. in Du. is not always reproduced by Caxton. Cp. *dese die deden* 21,13 and *thys* (= these) *did*. C. 16/18.

never recovre *it* 101/33 (nothing corresponding Du. 134/4). Now ben ther many false shrewis . . . that . . . take on them to lye and to telle *it* forth (viz. to tell forth their lies) 65/5.

It annoncing an object-clause:

the foxe wil telle *it* how it byfelle 97/24.

It recalling a preceding object:

But the shame and villonye that he hath don to my wyf, shal I never hyde ne suffre *it* unavengyd 6/13.

For instances of pleonastic *it* after intransitive Verbs, Cf. Mätzner II, 184 (Shaksp. has to ‚lord it' and to ‚prince it', Mätzn. says that this use belongs to a later period of the language). — For *it* ‚stop-gap', *it* after trans. Verbs, think of some such mod. expressions as ‚take it easy' &c.

He, him may refer to an undetermined subject, viz. to the unexpressed Subject of a Verb in the Infinitive:

hit is better *to have* prys honour, reste and pees, And many frendes that be redy to helpe *hym* than to have shame, hurte, unreste and also many enemyes lyeng in a wayte to doo *hym* harme 110/10. (Still found in the 17th century. Franz E. St. XVII, 394, 6).

Personal Pronouns in the plural may refer to Collective Nouns:

And in to thys daye they devoure ande ete bellyns lignage where that they may fynde *them* 54/2; . . . wheresomever he wente and in what felowship he sholl be bylovyd though *they* hadde hated hym to fore 82/36.

As to Pers. Pron. emphasized by a preceding *it is* we find:

And yf ony hier shold have a reward *it shold be I* by right 88/40, besides the older construction ‚but how *I am he*, that nowe ye wille doo on me what it shal plese you' 32/38.

I did not come across any instances of the idiom ‚it is me', which Sweet, in his M. E. Gramm. 52 admits is found even in N. E. educated speech and

the origin of which is explained by Jespersen (Progr. in Lang., § 37, 249).

The Pers. Pron. *they*, *them* seem in Caxton to retain something of their original demonstrative meaning. Hence, they are not uncommonly preceded by the determ. Adj. *alle* and followed by *that*:

alle they that may helpe her 16/40; and waked *alle them* that were in the hows 22/20; made his confession . . . to fore *alle them* that wold here it 34/17.

In the next instance, *them* is used quite in the sense of ‚people' and followed by an adverbial determinant denoting origin:

thy kynge . . . commanded *alle them of the court* to go and conveyne reynart 47/23. A similar use of *they, them*, is found in later times. Franz quotes from Raleigh: they of Megalopolis, them of tegea, &c (E. Stud. XVII, 391). Cp. They leef and ronne faste fro them ward . . . as *they* that were aferd of theyr lyf 87/15 (= ‚as people' tc).

Him once occurs in a similar sense:

Your eme tought me ones a prayer that is of moche vertue to *hym* that shal fyghte 102/34.

Note also *they* = *those* in:

I shewd hym ones this cynge, he sayde that *they* were tho thre names that seth brought out of paradys 82/3;

Let is remembered that *they*, *them* are etymologically plural cases of the O. E. Demonstratives which also originated the Definite Article (Cf. Morris, Outlines of Engl. accidence, § 176).

Them is still used as a Demonstrative in the popular talk, (see Storm, *Engl. Phil.*, *Vulgärsprache*, 800).

Franz refers to a similar vulgar use of *they: they houses*, for *those* house. But I *found no confirmation* of this statement (Franz, op. citat. in E. Stud. XVII, 221).

Perhaps the author thinks of ‚*them houses*'.

Emphatic Pronoun with „self".

This pronoun may be used alone: ‚everyche ... wylle be a lord *hymself'* 56/12, or as an apposition to a personal pronoun: ‚*Ye yourself* shal not goo peasibly in the hye way' 56/7. Sometimes ‚own' is inserted, or the Pr. is emphasized by some other way: ‚I wil *mysell* in my persone helpe therto al that I may' 56/38. The next instance is remarkable as to form and tells much about the history of these various connections: ‚*they them selven* ben hurt and rewarded with the same' 86/13. In the preceding case: *I wil mysell* etc. the two elements coalesce and have partly lost their independence but in the last instance, we find a trace of weak declension which, as well as the graphic separation of the two words *them & selven* corroborates Kellner's view, viz. that the two words were primitively in apposition to each other, that *self* was not looked upon as a Substantive and that some change of pronunciation in *me self, the self* may have brought about *myself, thyself*, where the first element has taken the form of a possessive.

Note moreover that the Pr. of the third person resisted the analogy of *myself* and that the latter does scarcely appear before the 13th century. (Kellner, *Outl.*, § 296).

Reflexive Pronoun.

Both the simple and the compound form occur. According to Kellner ‚as early as Caxton's time the compound forms seem to be the rule. Of *thrity* in-

stances occuring on the first 42 pages of *Blanchardyn* only *three* are simple . . .' (Kelln., do., § 299).

From my enquiry in *Reynart* it seems that this is saying too much. In *Reynart,* at least, the proportion is certainly greater on the side of the simple form. This, in the First Part (pages 4—54) is used in the following passages: 4/13, 6/4, 6/7, 10/26, 12/29, 13/7, 15/25, 17/17, 17/28, 18/14, 19/36, 21/29, 25/33, 25/28, 25/31, 25/36, 28/5, 28/39, 29/23, 29/26, 29/28, 30/26, 31/29, 32/4, 32/37, 38/18, 34/5, 44/14, 46/33, 47/29, 50/15;

the form with *self* is found on 5/16, 6/27, 8/18, 12/32, 20/7, 14/14, 18/1, 28/13, 29/4, 31/31, 32/34, 39/35, 40/2, 41/15, 43/23, 43/28, 47/17.

Possibly there is a preference for the latter form, where the Pron. is preceded by a Preposition. This, among the passages referred to, is the case in *he doth to hymself no worshyp* 8/18, *tho thought reyn. in hym self* 12/32; cf 20/7, 18/1, 31/31, 41/15.

Self is not inflected with *s* in the plural forms:

Where ben they that so wolde doo, that is to destroye *them self* for to kepe yow 40/2.

Reflexive Pronouns may appear in a more emphatic form:

I counseylle you reyn. that ye put *you your self* out of this curse 43/28; I have ynowh to doo with *myn owne self* 118/29.

There is sometimes a great affinity between the reflex. Pron. and a *dativus ethicus* of the personal Pr. as some such cases as the following will show:

he gate leve for to have as moche of the beres skyn . . . as a foote longe – for to make *hym* ther of a scryppe 45/7. *I fere me* that I shal not conne wel goo thyder 13/7.

It is probable that these instances represent the original case of the reflexive use of the Pron., viz. that any reflex. Pr. took his source in a *dativus ethicus*. This is the theory developed at length by *Voges (Der*

Reflexive Dativ. im Englischen, Anglia, VI, 316--373).

Moreover the simple form was the primitive one. There are O. E. instances of *me sylf, þe sylf, him sylf* but it may be noticed that *sylf* has generally an independent, emphasizing value. Later on, *self* lost this value and reflexive pronouns were occasionally emphasized by some other word, as seen above.

The plural *selves* does not occur until the middle of the 16th century.

The simple form occurs in Shakespeare (Abott § 223), it is comparatively common in Bunyan (instances ap. *Franz, op. cit.* Engl. Stud. XVII, p. 400) and disappears from litterary prose about the time of Dryden. It survived longest in connection with *bethink, bethought* (Instances from Thackeray ap. Franz. *op. cit.*).

The Reflexives *itself, oneself* belong to a later period. In Caxton, *himself* is used instead:

how that he gate afterward helene . . . and how he brought her in to troye . . . was al cowen in the felde *every thyng by hym self* 84/25.

For *himself* referring to *one*, see Indef. Pron., 86/11.

Possessive Pronouns.

My, thy are used before consonants, *mine, thine* before vowels: (Kelln., XXXV). I must add that the rule is not absolute. *Myn* occurs before an *h*; thus, besides *my herte* 37/26, 95/2, 109/29, 111/1, 115/18, *my heed* 55/1,5 we find *myn herte* 37/26, 81/7, 81/23, 88/12, 93/11, 109/24, *myn heer* 37/25, 100/24, *myn husewife* 39/6, *myn hows*, 50/34, *myn honour* 95/26; *myn helpe* 94/2, 103/9; also before other consonants: *myn necke* 49/18, *myn nece* 71/7, *myn mynde* 111/2, *myn buttokkis* 114/8.

The forms with *n* gradually fell into disuse about

the second half of the 17th century (Franz. op. cit. E. St., XVII, p. 384).

Its does not occur.

The oldest instance quoted by Koch is from Florio, (1598). Spenser does not use *its*, Shakesp. only 14 times (Koch, Gramm. p. 249, Abbott, § 228), It is even probable that *its* was introduced in Shakespeare by the editors. See *Notes & Queries*, *Febr. '93.*

The use of *his* after a personal Noun, instead of the Genitive is hardly represented in *Reynard.* The following passage is not quite conclusive:

I comande you upon your lyf that ye doo worship to reynart *his* wyf and to his chyldren 44/10 (Du:... dat ghi reynair sinen wive ende sinen kinderen ere doet 56,27).

Four analogous cases from Alfred's *Orosius* are quoted by Wülfing (*op. cit.* I § 251). This use was not rare in Early M. E., e. g. in the second text of *Layamon* (Mätzner III, 244), it was very developed in the 16th c., but seems to have been less in favour in the second part of M. E. Einenkel does not mention it for Chaucer. — Instances of this use in modern vulgar English will be found in Storm (Engl. Phil., 775).

The usual view as to the origin of this idiom is that it was due to a phonetic confusion, viz. to a misinterpretation of the inflexional *s*. This is the opinion of Sweet, quoted by Storm *i. loc. cit.* — It is perhaps more natural to regard this construction as an anacoluthia, since we find it in other Germanic languages, viz. in familiar German and Du. where the phonetic explanation does not hold. This view is confirmed by the fact that in the examples quoted by Wülfing the nouns are followed not by *his*, but by *hiora* and *hyre.*

My is used before titles, in addresses to superiors,

also before nouns of relationship (*my dere cosyn* 20/13) espec. before *lord*, *lady*; Kellner (xxxv) says that it occurs in this connection so as to form almost one word. I should say, from the instances referred to, that this was less the case then than now; or at least that the two words *my* and *lord (lady)* were kept distinct in the mind, seeing that they could be separated by intervening attributes, — but that the two words together were regarded as forming one group with a following noun *kynge*, *queen*, &c:

my worthy and dere lorde the kynge 113/15, my dere lorde kynge 115/1, theyr lorde the kynge 111/25, our lorde the kynge 111/30, my lorde the kynge and noble lady the quene 41/3, mercyful lorde syre kynge 18/34.

N.B. *min domne biscop* occurs in Alfred's *Beda*: this use is not due to the French.

When the Possessive is *used substantively* a preceding word has generally to be supplied:... helde *my part* and *his* to(o) 35/7, but the pronoun may also be used absolutely with the special sense of his, their ‚people':

the trespaces that ben lyed agaynst *hym and his* 23/34; that *we and owris* may abyde in honour and worship 56/36; whiche was to *you and youres* right *doubteful* 75/14. O. E. & M. E. instances ap. Kellner, Outl., § 312; M. E. instances ap. Mätzn. II, 11.

The Possessive may be preceded by the Article:

they maye wel speke and saye theyr advys but *the myne* is beste 25/1. More instances from *Blanchardyn*, ap. Kellner, xxvi. — Ye muste heche my chyldren with *the youris some wysedom* 99/5. — This may be French imitation. Remember, however, the O. E. construction *seo heora jugoþ* Blickl. Hom. 163,3, *seo hire gebyrd* ibid 163,9 (Einenkel, 86).

Instances like the preceding show that the Posses-

sive was originally merely attributive and had no determinative, viz. restrictive force. This accounts for the fact, that it is often followed by a restrictive relative clause, beginning with *that*:

my best beloved nevew *that* I know in al my kindrede 59/2, in token of mekeness and obedience of *your* penance *that* I gaf yow 28/18; I shal rather gyve you *my male that I bere* 51/6.

As to the use of the Possess. Pron. in relative sentences, it may be noticed that the primitive meaning of *his* = ‚of him' (Genit. of Pers. Pr.) is retained, to a certain extent, in later times, in the constructions where the Possessive appears as antecedent of a following Relative = ‚they shall be condemned ... to be *his* slaves *whom* they offended' Burton. *A. M.* 66.

I did not come across this construction, — which occurs in O. E. (Wülfing I, § 246, *in fine*, § 278), and is still very usual in the beginning of the 17th c. (Franz, op. cit. E. St. XVII, 388).

The Possessive occurs in connection with Adjectives used substantively and meaning equality, superiority or inferiority: the Possessive in these cases represents one of the terms of the comparison: ... ‚and was *your better and wiser* 100/31. Du: ende hi was u beter ende wiser 132,21; a little further the Du: onse beter, etc., 133,16, is translated ‚better ... than we' 101/25. But the construction may be traced to the O. E. period, where *mín*, *þín*, *his gelica* are found.

When two or more terms are enumerated, the Pers. Pr. referring to them may be expressed only once. This use is met with in all periods of the language but acquired a greater extent in modern times, owing to the general tendency towards compression of expression. See Mätzn. III, 240. — In *Reynard* the

omission of the Poss. Pr. is, of course, especially frequent with those ‚doublets' or couples of synonyms in which our text abounds (*his feest and court* 5/2, *his cote and skin* 10/13, *his condycions and nature* 92/1, ony *lygnage and frendes* 67/34, *my wyles and subtylte* 59/23, *ne me lygnage ne kin* 115/13: Note that the terms may be of a different *number* and may be separated by a negative particle), — but occurs also where distinct ideas are meant *their good faith and also worship* . . . 119/10.

The Possessive may be altogether omitted, where the possessor is easy to supply:

ye shal not thenne escape neyther *with wyf ne wyth chylde* 24/21; he conde not get out wyth myght ne wyth crafte *hede ne foote* 15/7.

Besides these cases which seem to be standing phrases, we must bear in mind all those where parts of the body are referred to. In French the use of a Possessive before names of parts of the body is considered a pleonasm, unless some comparison or opposition is meant; the Mod. English uses the Possessive when the sense is reflexive: *she cut her finger*, or when the noun is object: *he bent his head*; when it is included in some adverbial relation, the definite article is used, as in French or in Dutch: ‚*he took her by the hand*'. The use exhibited in *Reynard* is somewhat different. Instances with the Pers. Pronoun:

she smote hym wythout myssyng *on his heed* 62/39; she hytte me . . . v ɿ grete woundes *in my heed* 63/15; thou wounded me in xx places *in my heed* 110/34; ye shal this daye for your werkys be hanged *by your necke* 67/12; they were by slabbed and byclagged *to their eres* 98/30. He mocketh *you* to fore *your* visage 94/15 &c.

Instances with the definite article:

caught her by the heed 55/28. id. 69/11.

Both constructions sometimes occur in the same sentence:

this clevid to *his* bones and can not be had out of *the* flessh 40/21; he smote wyth *his* foot reynard on *the* heed 107/31.

The phrase *make your uryne* may also be regarded more or less as pleonastic.

As to the origin of the omission of the Possessive in such cases, I would point to certain uses of the *Dativus commodi* in O. and M. E. — *gistoddun him æt licaes heafdum* Ruthw. — M. E. *She falleth him to foote* Chaucer (quoted by Einenkel in Paul's Grundriss).

In opposition to this use, I lastly mention the emphatic designation of the possessor by means of the analytic Genitive: *of him* instead of *his* (Cf. *Genitive*).

Demonstrative Pronouns.

THIS. *This*, used substantively, with indefinite meaning:

this is good luck 14/11; — meaning ‚this place': had I alle the hony that is bytwene *this* and portyngale I shold wel ete it allone 13/36, — applying to time: I have *to fore this* seen 67/31.

Cf. ‚*This* too with whom you are to marry', Ben Jonson, quoted by Franz. E. St. XVII, 391.

This, as Adjective, especially in temporal expressions:

ye shal now goo to reynaert and saye to hym *this seconde tyme* that he come to court 19/16; your fayr wordes may not helpe you I thynke wel that ye shal *this daye* for your werkys be hanged by your necke 67/11.

Expressions like ‚this good while', ‚these six years' etc. were frequent in the 17th c., Franz. ibid. 392.

This moche:

this moche must my fadre here of hym to whom he had most his trust on 87/34.

‚This much' is quoted by K. Oliphant (N. E., I, 530) from Coverdale, ab. 1550 as if it were a new expression. Mätzner III, 123, gives an instance of this much = thus much, from Byron.

Neutral *this* opposed to *that*:

who that wyl go thurgh the world *this* to here and that to see, and *that other* to telle... 63/39.

THAT. The demonstrative *that* may apply like *this*, to a preceding object:

Can he *that* subtylte in suche wise that he stammer not in his wordes... this may may doo wonder 64/38.

That is used instead of the Def. Art. in connection with *one ... other*:

I wold I myght see suche abataylle, that one was wyly and that other was stronge, that one fought with strenghte, and that other with subtylte 107/10-14.

It is also used in connection with *other* alone, espec. when a comparison or opposition is implied:

that other syde e. g. of a river, (18/15, 31/16, 77/9); he ought by right here *that other partye* speke 57/9; — and had brought *that other daye to fore* in to his yerde a grete oke (*other* here = an ordinal number);

with *one* alone:

that one of his eyen 108/4; that one of them (viz. of the jewels) was a rynge of fyn gold 81/22.

Even before Nouns, *that* may be equivalent to a Def. Art.:

the kynge dyde do crye this feste over alle in *that* lande 54/12 (So in Du: dede dese feest over al dat lant te weten), he made tybert the catte to goo in that wylde lande of Arderne 36/23 — However it is possible that there is a shade of meaning of the article, *that* being, used like Latin *ille* (‚Vafer *ille* Sisyphus', Horace) to denote something well known, renowned, &c. — This is the case when dame Julock, after her hushand has lost ‚his ryght colyon' in the fight, deplores that ‚he shal never come doo ‚that swete playe and game' 23/3 (Very rare in Chaucer: king of Greece *that contre* ... Einenk. 18) (*)

We may note here that in the connection *that other*, *other* is sometimes Substantive = ‚the remainder' =

They ben good to dygeste (viz. pigeons), they may almost be swolowen in al hool, the bones ben half blode, I ete them wyth *that other* 59/31 (not so in Dutch: die laet ick al mede doer gaen 76,23); The lesyng oftymes cometh unavysed, and falleth in the mater unwetyngly. And so whan

(*) *That other* gave rise to the form *tother*, sometimes *t'other* which occurs in the colloquial speech of later times (frequent, for instance, in the mouth of the Squire, in „Tom Jones").

she is wel cladde, it goth forth thurgh with *that other* 64/31.

The same, with *same* used as a subst. may be regarded as a demonstrative which is often equivalent to a personal pronoun.

this Jugement thought yow good, and alle your counseyl which at tyme were by you and folewed *the same* 78/8; the unshamefast lecherye... with the avaunting of *the same* 118/22.

That is sometimes used instead of *it* and placed, as object, before the Verb, thus giving to the expression something more concrete and more emphatic than with the simple *it*:

a poure man is no lorde *that* may ye know eme by me 13/14; yf he ever here after mys doo and trespace, *that* shalle he dere abyde and alle his lignage... 40/32; who otherwise wylle now haunte the world, than devyse a lesyng in the fayrest wyse and *that* byswymple with kerchievis aboute in suche wise that men take it for a trouthe 64/36 (Not Du: ende wel bewimpelen mit doexkens 83/14). Reynard the foxe sware that he lyed as a false knave and a cursyd theef and *that* he wold doo good on his body 105/7 (The context, as well as the Du. text: ‚ende *dat* soude hi op sijn lijf waer maken' show that *that* is here Demonstr. and not Conjunction); — Dere eme that I ete what myght it helpe yow *that* yf I tolde you 13/13;

Another interesting case is:

And whan he was redy he asked me yf I *that* wold ffor your saake bere two lettres to you 52/12. After all the preceding instances we cannot simply dismiss this *that* as ‚parasitic'. Perhaps there is misprint, *yf I that* being written for *yf that I* (Conjunct. *yf that* = *yf*) But I prefer to compare the passage with the next one, where the Demonstr. Adv. *therof* is used about in the same way as our *that*: his feet ben yet sore therof when for my sake he was unshoed 102/14.

The use of a Demonstr. in these cases is psycholo-

gically interesting and we shall have to return to it when we explain the formation of Substantive Clauses (*Vide under Conjunction that*). It shows a certain incapacity of abstracting a complex member of a sentence and grasping it as *one* object, — Jespersen would say of ‚parenthetizing', (thinking of the arithmetical operation figured by $x\ (a + b)$ (*) Thus, instead of ‚If I wold (for your saacke bringe two lettres . . .), we first have ‚If I wold *that*, viz.: bringe two lettres . . .'

The Demonstrative, serving, as it were, as a resting-place for the mind, points to a transition-stage between coordinative and subordinative construction.

(*) I must mention, however, that the opposite tendency manifects itself in *Reyn.*, e. g. on p. 84, end of al. 1, where a series of adverbial clauses are followed by a principal Verb, without being connected with it by a recapitulatory *that*: „how that he gate helene . . . and how he brought her in to troye . . . the grete love and joly lyf that they had . . . *was* al corven in the felde".

Interrogative Pronoun.

WHICH is used, as it is now, to denote classification, distinction;

Whiche ben frendes and kynne unto Reynard the foxe, (title of capit. XXXI 79/12).

WHAT is often used quasi-adverbially:

And her wyth wil I leve ffor *what* have I to wryte of thise mysdedes, I have ynowh to doo with myn owne self 118/28. — The context shows that ‚what have I to wryte' = ‚why should I write'.

Likewise in: *what have I to doo* wyth the wulf 96/21, it is not necessary to look on *what* as the Direct Object of *do*. ‚*Do with*' has a complete sense = *deal with* (Cf. the Fr. ‚*avoir à faire* or *affaire à, avec quelqu'un*').

N.B. Remember the O. E. use of *hwaet*, which was not only exclamative = ‚Lo! behold!' but also adverbial = ‚why, wherefore'.

Note *what* in connection with *many*:

What many a spity worde have ye brought forth wyth false lesyngis 101/30.

For a similar use cf. Genesis xx, 9: What hast thou done unto us? *and what have I offended thee?*

Note also the use of *what* in statements put into the interrogative form for the sake of emphasis:

What trowe ye how many a grete lesynge muste I lye er I coude escape from hym 49/31. *What wene ye* how many ben ther suche false extorcionners now in thise dayes 115/3.

What is elliptic in the connections *what if*, *what though*. In the next instance we have a curious case of a stronger ellipsis, viz. the whole sentence depending on the conjunction *though* is omitted:

that me repenteth, thaugh it be to(o) late — *what thawh* sir kyng said the lupaerd, yf ther be ony thyng mysdon, it shal be amended 53/7. — The Du. has here simply ‚Wat is dan heer coninc' 68/7.

What ther of = what does it matter? viz.: it does not matter 46/28.

It has been shown under the *Relat. Pron.* that Interrogative Pr. easily pass into Indefinite or ‚generalising' Relatives (*who that*, etc.). The transition may be observed in such passages as: ... wheresomever he went and in what felowship ... 84/36 and *what* man loked in the glasse had he ony disease ... he shold be anon heled of it 84/30. — The change of sense of *what* is linked with a change of ‚direct' into ‚indirect speech'.

As to the idiom *what with ... what with* 37/4, see under the Preposition *with.*

The Relative Pronoun.

THAT. *That* is the normal, by far the most frequent relative in Caxton. In the forty first pages of *Reynard*, it occurs about eighty times, whereas *whiche* only occurs about forty times *whom* five and *where* (in the compounds *whereof*, *whereby*, &c.) ten times. It is used in quite a general way, with reference to persons or things and may have as its correlative a noun or a pronoun. It is found especially after personal pronouns: *they that* 16/40, 19/23, 27/27, 27/31, 31/17, 34/14, 35/39; *them that* 4/20, 7/18, 9/15, 22/20, 34/12, 35/30, 39,7, 40/7.

The frequent occurrence of *they that, them that* in cases, where to day we should use a demonstrative pronoun before the relative, is worth noticing.

And for them that understandeth it, it shal be ryght joyous plaisant and prouffitable 4/20,21.

We still say *he*, *him (who)*, *she (who)* where the French say *celui*, *celle qui*. *They that*, *them that* have, on the contrary, been replaced by *those who*. There does not seem to be emphasis enough in these words for a relative to lean upon them. Possibly the analogy of the French *ceux qui* had some influence here and *he that* remained simply because there was no convenient singular demonstrative corresponding to the plural *those*. Moreover we have already seen when speaking of demonstrative pronouns how the personal pronouns *they*, *them* often retain something of their demonstrative origin.

The use of *they that*, *them that* had become less frequent in the second half of the XVIIth century (Cp.

Franz. Engl. Stud. XVII, 221). *He that* where we generally prefer *he who* was still used in the XVIIIth century (Cp. Storm *op. citat.* p.p. 704).

On the whole, with regard to the use of *that*, Caxton still stands on the same stage of development as Chaucer in whose writings *that* is the general relative pronoun.

That was the first relative pronoun, developed out of a demonstrative — *paet* used like *pe* for various genders and cases, is not rare in Alfred the Great (cp. Wulfing, *Syntax Alfred's* p.p. 407, 408).

Other relatives made their appearance in the language in the following order: *whom*, *whose* — *the whiche whiche*; they gained ground in the XVth century; — lastly *who*, in the nominative. A division of functions tended of course to establish itself, between these various forms, which restricted the use of *that* (*)

In Shakespeare, the general principle for the use of *that*, which holds good at the present time is already in force. *That* is restrictive and therefore, as a rule is not used in a continuative sense. Hence, the following rules are applied in Shakespeare: *a*) *that* can only be used after nouns preceded by an article; *b*) it cannot refer to a proper noun, except in a special case, when this noun is in the vocative case. (Abbott, § 259).

But these rules do not apply to Caxton.

a). Ther cam *olde wymen that* for age had not one toeth in her heed 15/36, — Then shewde he them *lettres that* plesyd moche to bruyn 39/24.

b). *Cuwaert the hare that* hier standeth . . . 7/2, — . . . but

(*) For this development, see Mätzner III, p.p. 557—568. It will be seen that in the Elizabethan period *who*, *that*, *which* were used almost promiscuously, each particular author favouring the one or the other form. But in the latter half of the XVIIth century *that* was again preferred. Hence, Addison's „Humble Petition of *who* and *which*".

Tybert that sawe that he must deye 22/29 — . . . *dam Julock that* was ful of sorowe 23/11.

The connection of *that* with its antecedent was looser than now. *That* was sometimes separated from its antecedent. In the following example, the antecedent is a noun in the possessive case:

I ledde him to *the richest prestes hows that* was in the vermedos 26/20. — Cp. Shakesp., *Hamlet*, V, I, 85 (quoted by Abbott § 262): As if it were *Cain's jawbone that* did the first murder.

Less striking instances, such as the following, are often met with:

How the fox brought *them* in danger *that* wolde have brought hym to deth 36/21; alle the beestis gyve to you the prys *that* have seen this bataylle 111/36.

Therefore we must not lay too much stress on what Kellner says in summing up the differences in the use of *that* and *whiche*, namely that ‚*whiche* not only follows an immediate antecedent but may be separated from it by other nouns'. (Caxton's Syntax, XXXVIII, 1).

WHICHE. *Whiche* is after *that*, the most frequently used of relative pronouns. Though it appeared in the language later than *that*, it is, in Caxton, fully developed as a relative. Primitive or transitional forms like *the whiche*, or adjectival ones, such as *whiche* + the repeated antecedent, are already antiquated. *Whiche* is used both for things and for persons. Instances of the use of the word *whiche* after the names of persons or personified beings are perhaps the most frequent in *Reynard*, e. g. 8/33 (myn Eme reynart... whiche) &c.

The construction: pronoun + *whiche*, either with reference to persons or to things, is much less common; in this respect *whiche* differs in its use from

that. The next instance stands isolated in *Reynard.* ‚*That whiche* clevid by the bone myght not out of the flesshe' 29/5.

According to Mätzner (III, 563), this represents the original case of a pronoun followed by *wiche*; that is to say, *whiche* was first used after *that* in order to avoid the combination *that that.* It was afterwards tolerated after other pronouns of neutral meaning and, finally, after personal pronouns. — However, this is the only instance of *that whiche* in *Reynard.* For, as we shall soon see, *that that* was avoided by a simpler contrivance, viz., the omission of the second *that.*

Instances of *Indefinite Pron.* or *Numerals* + *whiche*:

many moo came after *whiche* alle thought to hurte me 26/40; and ther came *moo than* xx *whiche* wolde not have comen . . . 112/13.

Personal Pronouns + *whiche* (N.B. the *Personal* Pron. sometimes has a demonstrative meaning):

But he laughed in his herte that *all they* brought hym forth *whiche* had a lytyl to fore been with him so wrooth 47/30; who wil aventure for *hym* his eerys, his eye or his lyf *whiche* is so fel a beest 23/36; and *he whiche* is grete 98/10;

the wulf was better withholden and gretter with you than *I* was *whiche* am your humble subject 112/23;

The old interrogative *hwylc*, used as a relative, mostly with an adjectival meaning. and with reference to persons or things, is found as early as Orm (See: Noack, p. 32). In Elizabethan English, *which* is generally confined to things, although survivals of *which* referring to persons are to be found later. (See Franz, *op. citat. Engl. Stud.* XVII, p. 206, 4) and used with a noun antecedent. See for Shakespeare, Abbott § 266-268; for Bacon, Rohs, *op. cit.* p. 44. — Spenser, archaic in this respect, often uses *which* for *who.* See Düring, *Pronomina bei Spenser*, p. 35.

Whiche is frequently used with reference to a whole sentence or to part of a sentence, e. g.:

That the lyon the noble kynge of all beestis wolde in the holy day of thys feest holde an open court at stade *whyche* he dyde to knowe over alle in his lande 5/9-12.

Whiche is used in connection with Prepositions, e. g. *In whiche* 10/2; *on whiche* 68/36; *by whiche* 56/31; *of whiche* 61/31.

But, in this connection, we often find, instead of *whiche*, *where* in the compound words: *whereof*, *whereon*, *wherein*. Sometimes, though not very frequently, the *antecedent is repeated* after *whiche*, or, at least, recalled by some equivalent word; *whiche* then retains its original value, that of an adjective:

In this historye ben wreton the parables goode lerynge and dyverse poyntes to be merkyd *by which poyntes* men maye lerne 4/23. It was upon a wednesday *on whiche day* I am not wonte to ete ony flessh 68/36. — And ther in is th(e h)istorye how venus Juno and pallas strof for th(e) apple of gold whiche eche of them wold have had *whiche contraversye* was sette upon parys 83/33,35. (The antecedent being all that precedes *whiche*, is here summed up again by the word *contraversye*). — Hit is like to tree of hebenus *of whiche wode* kynge Crompart made his horse of tree 84/39.

N.B. In Chaucer *which* sometimes stands for a genitive (Ten Brink, Chaucer's Sprache 254): swich licour *of which vertu* (= out of the virtue of which) engendred is the flour. (Canterb. T. Prol. 4).

This use is completely obsolete in Caxton. — The last instance quoted from *Reynard* might appear to be an analogous case, but the context shows that *of wiche wode* must be looked upon as *one appositional group*.

With regard to this repetition of the antecedent after *which*.

Cp. the O. Fr., *jusques à mercredi, auquel jour il doit*

partir; and similar instances. (See Darmesteter, Syntaxe p.p. 80,81). For a similar use in Shakespeare, see Abott § 269.

THE WHICHE so far as I am aware, *does not occur* in *Reynard*. The fact is worth notice, inasmuch as *the whiche* is found in other works of Caxton and Kellner quotes 8 instances of its use, all taken from the forty first pages of *Blanchardyn* (Kellner, Caxton's Syntax, p. XXXIX).

The whiche is found as early as in R. R. de Hampole (cp. Noack, p. 55); it is frequent in Chaucer, in the Paston letters (Blume, Spr. der P. letters. p. 26), in Spenser (Düring, *Pronomina bei Spenser* p. 25.) For instances in Shakespeare, see Abbott § 270. This use, however, is less prevalent in the Elizabethan period. Rohs (*op. citat.* p. 42) says there is no instance of it in Bacon; but I found 2 in the *Advancement of Learning* p. 37, l. 31; p. 234, l. 10 (Clarendon Pr. Edit).

It is generally admitted that *the which* answers to O. Fr. *liquels*. Dr. Lindner (quoted by Noack, p. 60) alone maintains that *the* in *the whiche* is to be considered as the old relative particle *þe*, not as the definite article, and that O. E. *se þe* or *he þe* is sufficient to explain *the whiche*. This theory must be rejected, for it has been shown (see, for instance Abbott § 270) that the entire use of *the whiche* is parallel with that of *liquels*.

Perhaps we may see a confirmation of this view in the comparative frequency of *the whiche* in Blanchardyn, a translation from the French. This was at any rate true as regards Caxton, ans shows how the translator was apt to be influenced by the language from which he was translating. (Cp. for this point Prof. Logeman's remarks on p. XLI of Muller & Logeman's Edition of the Dutch text).

WHOM. Dr. Kellner (Caxton's Syntax, XXXIX) says that *whom* was only used of persons and in connection with prepositions. Here, however, are several instances of whom in the objective case, without preposition:

Chantekler's daughter *whom* Reynart the fox hath byten 11/18; Tho cam Tybert the catte *whom* I receyved frendly 30/30; and other ... *whome* I shal name afterward 66/13; I have thre ful waxen children ... *whom* I wold alle to gydre aventure for his love 79/9; — Me *whom* men putten to laboure 86/22; God ... *whom* I humbly beseech 118/24.

Whom is not used for things, properly speaking, but here and there for animals. Of course it is difficult to decide whether, animals are personified or not in Reynard. In the following passage, it is perhaps better not to look upon *henne* as a personal antecedent:

And brought on a biere a deed henne *of* whom Reynard had byten the heed of 9/15.

The above quoted instances with *doughter* (11/18), *children* (79/9) are dubious: *sone*, *doughter*, *child* were generally considered neutral nouns; see Einenkel, Streifzüge, p. 41.

Originally *whom* was applied either to persons or to things (see Mätzner III, 567). This holds good for Spenser, who has *eyen whom*, &c (Düring, *op. citat.* p.p. 32, 33; also for Shakespeare but in personifications, Abbott § 264). Instances of *whom* after nouns designating animals occur in Bunyan, Walton, &c (Franz, *op. citat. Engl. Stud.* XVII, 206).

Whom preceded by a preposition: *to whom* 73/21, 76/13, 77/1, 81/25, 87/34, 118/25; *of whom* 8/15; *fro whom* 66/22.

WHOSE. As a true relative, referring to a preceding antecedent, this pronoun is not, that I know of, to

be found in Reynard. In the following passage, no antecedent is expressed:

They retch not *whose* hows brenneth 78/25.

The genitive function of the relative is generally expressed by *(whereof)*, *of which*; we once find *of whom* 9/15 and the combination *whom* ... *his*:

bruyn the bere myn Eem whom I made his crowne al blody 26/3 (Dutch: bruyn minen oem dien ic syn crune al bloedich maecte 33/19;) —

but the construction is found in O. E., see below: Relative with supplementary Pronoun.

Whose was used by Chaucer, Mandeville, but only for *persons* (Mätzner III, 568. Noack even gives instances of its use as far back as Orm) (*) With reference to *things*, *whose* is frequent in Spenser (Düring, p. 36).

Who. In the Nominative, with an antecedent preceding it, *who* was only admitted into the language at a later period, and seems to have first come into regular use in the works of Berner, xvith century (Kellner, Outlines, p. 208; Morris, Outlines § 204, 205) I found, however, an instance of its use in Reynard: ... every man beware hierby who hath harme and seathe 16/11. Early instances of *who* are given by Kellner, Outl., p. 208, from Wulfstan. *Who* is not uncommon in Shakespeare, but was not accepted by Ben Jonson (Morris § 204).

Where. *Wherof* 10/39, 14/29, 26/15, 26/25, 38/2, 75/2, 88/19, 90/4, 99/38; *wherfor* 8/36, 26/18, 38/3, 66/32, 71/9, 76/37, 91/26; *wherin* 26/22, 85/23, 87/40, 95/32; *wheron* 114/3, *wherupon* 6/3.

(*) All that yho sahh aundd herrde off Crist.
Whas moder yho wass wurrthen (Orm, 3424).

Where generally refers to whole sentences, not so often to a definite antecedent, rarely to persons.

Instances with a definite antecedent:

This preest had *aspynde wherin* henge many a good flitche of bacon, *wherin* many a time I was wonte to fil my bely 26/21,22; so good a *boone wheron* his so moche flessh 114/3; goed *flytches* of bacon *wherof* he ete so moche 26/25.

Note that the use of *wherof* as a possessive genitive is very rare. In the instance just quoted, it has the value of a partitive genitive. In most cases it refers to the preceding sentence and has about the same meaning as *wherfor*:

he fonde the kynge in a grete sekenes *wherof* he was sory in his hert 90/4.

The modern use of *where* + a separable preposition is sometimes found also, e. g.:

What reynart cosyn unhynde now your sakke *wher* all the wylis ben *in* 87/32.

In order to explain these compounds, it is quite unnecessary to adduce Dutch influence (*waervan*, *waerbi*), as one might be tempted to do in *Reynard*. We may trace this use back to the oldest periods of the language. In O. E. simlar compounds, formed of demonstrative adverb + a preposition, were found, the preposition often being separable (Mätzner III, 570). *Wherof*, *wherin*, &c were still decidedly preferred, in the first half of the XVIIIth century, to the preposition + which (Franz, *Engl. Stud.* XVII p. 207).

As. *As* is used as a relative in connection with *such*, the latter having reference to persons: e. g. 89/5; more frequently to things: 4/5, 8/26, 12/18, 22/13, 72/29, 74/26, 93/35, 113/9, or having a neutral, indefinite meaning (= anything) 9/9, 16/17, 114/21.

That is also used as a relative after such (See Kellner, *Caxton's Syntax*, XXXIX). This use, however, is rare in *Reynard*.

Swyllce . . . alls instead of the older *swyllce . . . swyllce* appears as early as the XIIth century (Vide quotations from Orm in Morris' *Outlines* § 221). *As* is explained by Koch (II, § 352) as being the upshot of *eall swylc sum*.

That after *such* is old also. We find instances from Layamon in Mätzner III, 536.

WHO THAT, WHAT THAT, WHO SO, WHOSOEVER, WHO, WHAT, &c. All these forms were used as General or Indefinite Relatives, with an antecedent *following* them or without antecedent. It was probably through this intermediate stage that the originally interrogative pronouns passed into use as relatives. *Who* in *who that* often seems to retain something of its interrogative force although the adjunction of *that generalises* its meaning.

Instances of *who that*: Theme *who that* wylle have the very understandyng of this mater, he must ofte and many times rede in this boke 4/14; *who that* is hardy the aventure helpeth hym 66/6. — *What that*: . . . and suffre the foxe to saye unberisped *what that* he wolde 36/15. Also: 58/1, 112/1, &c.

These compound forms of relatives are frequent in Chaucer, and Kellner gives much earlier instances. In Caxton they have become rarer and, besides that, they do not reach beyond the M. E. period. I found no instance of them in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*. Abbott (§ 250) quotes a single instance of *which that* from Ingelend, 1560. Even Spenser seems to have avoided this use.

As to the origin of *who that*, Einenkel once more attributes it to French influence; this *that*, he says,

comes from the French *que* (Einenkel, Syntax, in Paul's Grundr. 1st ed. 919 § 147). A parallel with the French seems hardly necessary if we remember the old similar use of *þe*, which being reduced (like *that* later) to a mere relative particle, had the power of changing a preceding word into a relative pronoun *se þe*, *seo þe*, *þaet þe*. The only difference here, is that the same process is effected by *that* on *interrogatives* instead of *demonstratives*.

Caxton uses the simple *who:*

I wolde that ye wolde aventure that *who* of you tweyne had most trespaced shold hange by the necke 72/7. *Who* of you alle is withoute synne late hym easte the first stone 73/38. (*)

The simple *who (what)* in this sense, is not rare in Chaucer (Ten Brink, Chauc. Spr. §§ 254).

,*As who saith*' 66/11.

With regard to this phrase, which reminds us of the French ,*comme qui dirait*' the questions may be asked: 1) whether it is really due to the French, as some authors believe it to be (e. g. Einenkel in Paul's Grundr. 919 § 147); 2) whether *who*, in this case is an indefinite *relative* or a true *indefinite* pronoun.

Littré explained *qui* in the corresponding French idiom by supplying *celui*. In the *Syntaxe* of Darmesteter *qui* is explained in a more satisfactory way as an indefinite pronoun: ,Jusqu'au XVIIe siècle, *qui* suivi d'un verbe à la 3e pers. du sing. pouvait avoir le sens de *si on*. Les exemples de cette tournure pullulent dans nos auteurs. Elle nous est restée dans *comme qui dirait* et aussi dans le proverbe: *Tout vient à point*

(*) In Dutch, we find *wie*, *wie dat*, *soewie*, *die*; but they seem not to have influenced Caxton' schoice of either form. *Who that* corresponds to *die* (73/27), to *soewie* (82/30), and principally to *wie* (18/39, 70/17, 71/19). *Who* (7/27, 43/38), = Dutch *so wie*. *Whom he wold* (84/5), translates: *hoe dat hi woude*.

qui sait attendre, changé par une déformation moderne en ‚Tout . . . *à qui* sait attendre'. (Darmesteter Gr. hist. IV, p.p. 77, 78).

Now, if we remember that ‚as who saith' can be traced back in the language to a respectable antiquity (Chaucer, Mandeville, Robert of Gloucester, R. R. de Hampole, O. E. Hom. (see Mätzner III, 584. Morris, *Outlines*, § 227); if, on the other hand, we bear in mind the numerous instances, collected by Wülfing (§ 326) of O. E. *hwa* used as an indefinite pronoun = *some one*, we will be cautious in answering the first question; although French influence is not necessarily excluded we cannot boldly stigmatise this idiom as a ‚gallicism'.

N.B. The use of this phrase is moreover not identical in English and in French. The French ‚comme qui dirait' is generally a mere parenthesis (*) = ‚comme on dit'. In all the English instances I know ‚as who says' is indispensable to the sense of the sentence, and is introductory to some ‚direct speech' — Note that Darmesteter's explanation of the phrase applies perhaps better still to English than to French, as the conjunction *as* often had the sense of ‚*as if*'; cp. ‚as it were' under the heading *Conjunctions*.

Instances of *what* in *Reynard*:

And *what* she desyreth that geteth she anone 71/6, *what* I desyre I foyle not of it 71/8, what they can gete that take they 92/31.

What is also used adjectively, and then sometimes separated by the substantive from a following *that*:

and *what* jugement *that* shal be given there I shal obeye and suffre and never doo the contrarye 76/28.

(*) To put it otherwise in French, the phrase belongs to what M. Bréal, in his book, la *Sémantique*, Paris, 1897, p. 254, calls the ‚subjective element' in language

WHOSO:

For *whoso* sayth alway trouthe he may not now goo nowher thurgh the world 65/26; other instances: 65/28, 86/40, 100/10.

Origin: O. E. *swa hwa swa*, *swa hwaet swa*. Cp. Wülfing § 306. Later forms: *hwa swa*, *hose*, *whose*.

WHOSOEVER. These compounds are not rare in Caxton where they generally occur under the forms *whososomever*, *whosommever*, *who somme ever*. See 63/27, 68/22, 82/5, 96/14, 109/78, 115/11, 118/7. (For the use of *whatsomever*, *whatsomdever* in modern ‚Vulgärsprache', cf. Storm, p. 780).

Origin: *who that... ever*, *who that... ever* appear early in the M. E. period (Cp. Morris, Outlines § 224).

Whoever, *whatever*, *whichever* belong to a later period.

As was stated in the beginning of this paragraph, all these pronouns may be used without antecedent or with an expressed (following) antecedent. Even in cases where the antecedent is expressed, it is generally not indispensable to the sense. We shall therefore have further opportunities of considering these cases in our next paragraph which deals with the *Supplementary Pronoun after Relatives*.

The Relative Pronoun in the Sentence.

For convenience' sake it seems advisable to deal here with several points which properly belong to the syntax of the Sentence. Three questions have to be examined: The use of Supplementary Pronouns after Relatives; – the Omission of Relatives; – Subordinate construction by means of Relatives, instead of Coordination.

SUPPLEMENTARY PRONOUN.

This is the phenomenon we may still observe in modern German: *ich der ich*, *du der du*, &c. In O. E. the constructions *sé pe hé*, *sé pe him*, *sé pe his* were common. The supplementary pronoun either immediately followed, or was separated from the relative. In some cases, it was entirely redundant: in other instances, it was a means of supplying the deficiency of the indeclinable *pe*, as, for instance, when it was used to express the Genitive: *Aelfmáer . . . pe se arcebiscop aelfeáh áer generede his life* (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, quoted by Sweet: Anglo-Saxon Reader, p. LXI). Such a use which is essentially the outcome of a mixture of constructions and is still to be found in vulgar speech, becomes rarer as syntax gains in logical regularity. (For instances in Shakespeare, see Abbott § 249).

In arranging the instances collected in *Reynard*, I follow the classification of Kellner. Three principal types of relative constructions may be distinguished:

I. *The antecedent or correlative is a noun in a complete sentence, which is followed by a many-worded adjective, or adjective clause.*

a) If the relative pronoun is in the nominative case, the construction, as a rule, is the same as in Modern English. Kellner, says he has not come across a single instance of redundant pronoun in Caxton (Kellner, Caxton's Syntax XLI).

b) The relative is an oblique case. Then, as a rule, the relative is used in connection with the corresponding preposition: *of whom*, *to whom* (see, above, instances under *whom*). But there are exceptions where the construction: a relative + *his him*, &c. is found instead of the simple relative:

I have trespaced ayenst alle thee beestys that lyve in especyal ayenst bruyn the bere myn Eem *whom* I made *his* crowne al blody 26/2. But now I am he *that* now ye wille doo *on me* what it shal plese yow 32/28.

II. *The correlative sentence is divided into two parts by the relative clause.*

a. The correlative is the *subject* of the sentence. Then, a redundant personal pronoun in the Nominative was almost the rule in O. E. and M. E. Numerous instances from O. E. Homelies in Kellner p. XLIII. But Kellner says this is no longer the case in Caxton and he has not found any instance of it in *Blanchardyn*. The following one, taken from *Reynard*, is therefore probably due to the Dutch:

He that wil wynne *he* muste laboure and aventure 27/26; Dutch: Die verwerven wil die moet dat pinen 35/31.

b. The correlative is the *object* (direct or indirect) of the sentence. Then, as a rule, it is in the Nominative case and a redundant pronoun follows in the

Dative, Genitive or Accusative. The modern use is rather the exception.

Your doughter *that* lyeth here dede we wyl gyve *to her* the dethes right 11/7.

Alle they *that* may helpe her be they men or wymen I give *to hem* alle pardon of her penance and relece of theyr sinnes 17/1.

And also the kynge *whiche* so moche hated hym he had made *hym* suche a fool that he broughte hym to his owne entente 47/32.

And tho synnes *that* have brought you in the grete sentence and curse I make you quyte of *them* and take *them* in myself 70/26,27.

An alle tho *that* ben in the lande . . . I shal brynge *them* alle in the popes curse 70/37.

In all these cases, the relative is in the Nominative. According to Kellner a relative in an oblique case is very rarely followed by a redundant personal pronoun. The following instance comes very near to this. Here we have a redundant pronominal adverb *ther of* equivalent to *of it:*

Alas nevewe this is an evyl connyng *of whiche* lyf scath und hurte may come *ther of* 65/24,25.

III. *The relative sentence precedes its correlative.*

The supplementary pronoun is the rule in *Ayenbite* (just as in the French original *qui . . . il, quiconque . . . il*), also in the *Gesta Romanorum.* It still occurs in the XVIth century (Kellner XLIV, XIV).

In *Reynard* I found instances of both uses, — with and without supplementary pronoun.

The two next passages are interesting as the personal pronoun immediately follows the relative, thus reminding us of O. E.: *sé pé he*:

Who shal blame Reynard . . . who *that* understandeth the

lawe and can discerne the right and *that he* be of hye burthe as myn Eme Reynart 18/31.

Who can gyve to his lesynge a conclusion . . . and *that he* can so blynde the peple . . . that is the man 65/12.

Instead of a personal pronoun, we may of course find a demonstrative, e. g. *that*:

And *what* she desyreth *that* geteth she . . . 71/6. Other instances: 4/14, 64/34,37, 65/26,28, 66/5, &c.

Instances without supplementary pronoun:

Who that hath nede of helpe shal fynde on her grete frendship 70/32. Cp.: 68/22, 73/27, 76/26, &c.

In contemporary English the supplementary pronoun is not used, except for the sake of clearness of meaning, when the correlative sentence is widely separated from the relative by intervening clauses.

Omission of the Relative Pronoun.

According to present use, this omission is only permitted, in literary language when the relative is in the accusative case. — This restriction, however, is recent.

In Reynard, the relative is found to be omitted in the Nominative, although perhaps not so often as in the Accusative, e. g.:

lyke an hound had been deed 55/23; ffor yf ther be ony can saye and make good . . . that I have trespaced I wil abyd al the right and lawe that may come thereof 92/41.

In the following cases, we logically should expect two relatives, the first being used as object, the second as subject: in both passages the latter has been omitted.

. . . his fowle hound *whom* I never see doth good or proffyt 86/21; I have conspyred the kynges deth fro the tresour *that* you have said to hym is in hulsterlo 101/41.

In the next, the omitted relative in the Nominative

may be supplied by a preceding relative in an oblique case:

God fro *whom* nothyng may be hid and above all thyng is mighty.

Omission in the Accusative:

thise evyl bestis ... shulle do to hem alle the hurte they maye 70/5.

On the other hand, the relative is sometimes expressed in the accusative in cases where we should most likely omit it:

It is the best counseil *that* I ever yet herde 33/26. This was alle *that* he studied 33/23.

Omission after *that*. — The very numerous cases which I consider under this head have been looked upon in various ways by different authors. Thus Kellner, p. XLV, speaks of ‚attraction' in that; of *that* = *that whiche*; Morris, in his Outlines (§ 214) says: ‚*That*, in virtue of its being neuter, is sometimes used for *what*, and a preposition may precede it'. — I should say, not that *that* is ‚used for *what*', but simply that it has, in that case, the meaning of *what*, in consequence of a second *that* having been dropped after it. The reason why a preposition may precede is thus made evident: *that* is demonstrative, not relative. I see no essential difference between the instances given by Morris: ‚I am possessed of *that* is mine'; — ‚Throw us *that* you have about you'. — ‚We speak *that* we do know and testify *that* we have seen' and the one quoted above (92/41) or the following ... say amen to *anything* might do you a pleasure — ... he is a stranger to *all* has passed. (Franz, Engl. Stud. XVII, 204). In that case, what need is there for a different explanation? Why are we to suppose that a confusion arose between *what* and *that*? The fact is that O. E. *þæt þæt* was soon avoided, probably for euphonic

reasons. As substitute for *that that* in *Reynard* we have sometimes found *what that* or *what* (see above) but in the great majority of cases, *that* is used:

Who that wylle have the understandynge ... he muste ... ernestly and diligently marke wel *that* he redeth 4/16; that courtoys hier complaineth of, that is passed many yeres goon 6/27. — Tho wente I ner and fonde maister reynard that had lifte *that* he fyrst redde and songe 7/8. Comp. the O. E. omission of *þe* in *for þam* = *for þam þe* (Wülfing § 304, 11).

The omission of the Relative is a phenomenon common to all Teutonic languages, the development of which is a characteristic feature of English syntax. As to the origin of this development, the authors who have treated this subject, do not agree (see Noack, p. 75, for an analysis of the views of Kölbing, Flebbe, Lohmann, &c.), and it is probable that several different origins must be taken into account. Most of the alleged O. E. instances of this use have been explained as containing no omission of the relative at all, but as being assyndetic constructions of two sentences. Wülfing says he can only quote three instances of true omission from Alfred (Wülfing, § 304, 11). — The principal origin was perhaps, according to Lohmann, the omission of personal pronoun: in cases like the following:

Geaf hit þá his án munac, Brihnóþ wás geháten (Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 963).

This use was extended to demonstratives and as demonstratives and relatives became identified, sentences like this were misinterpreted as elliptical relative clauses.

Now, — and this is a point I wish to draw attention to, — Lohmann attaches a great importance to Norman-French influence, in observing the distinction be-

tween principal and subordinate sentences, by altering the order of the words in the relative.

But Wülfing shows that the rule according to which the verb, more especially the auxiliary verb, was rejected to the end of the clause, was liable to many exceptions in O. E. He even goes so far as to say that this rule cannot be used as a test to decide whether *sé, seo þaet* are, in a given case, to be considered as relatives or as demonstratives. (Wülfing, *sé, seo þaet* § 275, A).

So that we can only reply, in answer to the question concerning French influence, as we havea lready done, on several previous occasions, that it was probably, but not necessarily, at work, and certainly not *alone*.

Relative Subordination instead of Demonstrative Coordination.

Which, *whom*, &c. are very often found to be equivalent to a coordinative conjunction + a personal pronoun, or a demonstrative pronoun, — a construction which reminds us of the Latin *qui* = *et is*, *quo* = *et eo*, *qualis* = *et talis*, *ubi* = *et ibi*, &c. Likewise the adverbial relative *wherfor*, *wherupon* stand for a preposition + a pronoun; and *which*, when it refers to a whole sentence, may be replaced by a demonstrative of neutral meaning, *this*, *that*.

Later on, when we look at these facts from the point of view of *style*, we shall see that Caxton here exhibits, — as in Latin — a tendency towards synthetic style, the more interesting in that in other respects his style is rather analytic, and his syntax, coordinative.

Instances of this construction:

... ffor I had viii fayr sones and seven fayr doughters whiche my wyf had hatched ... and they wente in a yerde

whiche was walled round about. *In whiche* (= in his yard) was a shadde where in were six grette dogges *whiche* (= they) had to tore many a beestys skyn in suche wyse as my chyldren were not aferd, *On whom* (= and on these) Reynart the theef had grete envye, &c 10/1-5,

... hier by dwelleth an husbondman named lantfert *whiche* hath so moche hony that ye shold not ete it in VII yere *whiche* (= and this honey) ye shal have in your holde yf ye wille be to me friendly, &c. 13/38.

With *whom*: nevertheles they that were moot pryncypal in this feat were of my next kynne *whom* gladly I wold not bewraye, &c (= and I wold gladly not bewraye them) 36/1. —

With *where*. And there he hath bepyssed my children where as they laye in suche wyse as they therof ben woxen blynde *whereupon* was a day sette — (= and upon this).

Sometimes the relative, being subject or object in a sentence introduced by a conjunction, is placed at the beginning of the sentence, thus reminding us of the Latin constructions *quod si*, *quod cum*, &c. The following is an instance of a contracted construction where *whiche* is, at the same time, subject and object.

Tho begonne they placebo domino with the verses that to longen *whiche yf* I shold saye were me to long 11/14.

Pleonastic *whiche*. — Suppose now that the construction becomes anacoluthic. If *whiche* has already a somewhat vague meaning, as when it refers, for instance, to a whole sentence, then, it will be impossible to justify it in the sentence; it will be reduced to a mere connective particle, or become entirely parasitic, and the relative clause, merely parenthetical. The passage to this state of things may be observed in the following quotations:

Thus al chyding he cam to the ryver where he fonde the beere sare wounded, bebled, and right seke, *whiche* he myght thanke none better therof than Reynart whiche spaeke to the bere in skorne 17/36.

That hast thou shewd wel on my messagers these poure felawes.

Tibert the cat and bruyn the bere, whiche yet ben al blody *whiche* chyde not ne saye not moche, but that shal this day coste the(e) thy lyf... 30/21.

This is murder rape and treson, *whiche* ye ought to do Justyce theron sharply 95/23.

N.B. In all these cases the relative may be used with or without a supplementary pronoun, according to the rules given above.

Origin and History. This use is generally explained as an imitation from the Latin. It developed into full bloom in Elizabethan times, when Latin influence was at its greatest. (Kellner, *Outlines*, § 122).

In French also, these constructions date from the period of greatest Latin influence on that language (from the XIVth to the XVIIth century), and it is probable that Latin influenced English, in some cases, through this medium. Cf: ‚Et t'envoient ladite ville Anguerran de Bournoinville et un chevalier... *lesquels* pour ce qu'ils avaient tenu la ville contre le Roy... la ville fut pillée' (Alain Chartier, quoted in Darmesteter's *Grammaire historique*, IV, p.p. 80, 81).

The earliest instances given by Mätzner are from Chaucer and Mandeville (Mätzner III, 583).

But we may admit that this external influence was at least helped by internal and psychological factors. There seems to be a natural tendency in the popular speech towards linking sentences by means of relatives, — owing to a sort of laziness of mind, as if people were reluctant to resolutely end one sentence and begin a fresh one. The instances of ‚pleonastic which' collected by Storm in his chapter on *Vulgärsprache* (Engl. Phil., p.p. 801, 802) are highly interesting to this purpose.

Since this construction is based upon Latin, it would be natural to expect to find traces of it in O. E. translations from the Latin, such as those of Alfred. But there is one difficulty. We find, indeed, the Latin *qui*, *cui*, *cujus* (= *et is*, *et ei*, *et ejus*) translated by *sé*, *séo*, *þaet*. But are the latter to be considered as relatives or as demonstratives? Wülfing, it is true, has adopted the line of looking upon these pronouns as relatives whenever they correspond to a relative in Latin (Wülfing p. 395 A); doubt still subsists; in a few cases, however, the context seems to point to a relative:

... her beoþ swyþe genihtsume weolocas, of þam biþ geweorht se weolocreada taelhg, þone ne macg ne sunne blaecan nene ren wyrdan (= cujus) — See Alf., Beda, 471, 19, quoted by Wülfing, p. 395.

Cases with *se*, *þe*, *þaet þe*, *þaette* are more decisive, e. g.:

Cludas feollon of muntum ... þaette para wundra maest was, þa se mona ful waes & þaere suman firrest, þaet his þa aþeostrade — Oros. 256, 17, quoted by Wülfing, p. 403.

The construction began to decline with the influence of French style towards the end of the XVIIth century.

This use is of course quite distinct from the case where *who*, *who that*, *who so*, &c. being indefinite, not true relatives, have the meaning of ‚if any one' and introduce a relative clause with conditional meaning. Instances of this also occur in Reynard:

In lyke wyse *who so* have envye and spyte of an others welfare, and were servyd in lyke wyse, it shold be wel behoefful 86/40 &c.

My lord was not this ynough sayd and warned, *who so* wold understonde it, that al that he fonde he shold saye the contrarye 100/10 &c.

Now *who that* said to yow of the ffoxe more or lesse than ye have herd or red, I hold it for lesynge 119/22.

Indefinite Pronoun.

ONE. *One* is sometimes very nearly equivalent to the Indef. Article:

One false shrewe and deceyvar hath betrayed me 52/36; Wo shold luste to do that game to *one* so stedfast *a* wyf (*) 96/27; he saw fro ferre come fleyng *one* of seynt martyns byrdes 19/37.

One, used alone = some one, somebody:

here hath ben *one* to day by fore yow whiche was to them ny(g)he of kyn 100/29. What is that syr wulf, hath *one* there byten yow 106/9. Thou myghtest wel have said this to *one* that knewe the(e) not 110/28.

According to Kellner ,the modern use of *one* = people, Fr. *on*, Germ. *man*, does not occur in Caxton; its place is still occupied by *men*' (Kelln. XLVI, § 16). The following passages, however, come very near the case in point:

The feest was ful of melodye, *one* myghte have luste to see suche a feeste 54/24; *One* shal alway seke on his frendis 70/33; (the stone) shoon lyke as fyre had ben therin in suche wyse, that yf *one* wold goo by nyght hym behoved non other lighte 82/14; how may *one* better be taken than by his owne propre envye suffre hym self to betaken 86/11.

The Du. has ,*een*' in all the passages quoted and Du. influence may therefore be admitted in the second set of examples.

Note the use of the Personal, Possessive and Reflexive Pron. *he*, *his*, *himself*, referring to the Indefinite *one*. The special Reflexive *one's self* belongs to a late

(*) Cf. a similar tautology, in Chaucer, Kn. T.. 105-6:
For in my tyme *a* servant was I *one*.

period, (not yet usual in Shakespeare). *One* may be preceded by a Def. Art., by a Demonstr. or by a Possess. Pronoun and have the meaning of ‚one of two':

He wold wel forgyve reyner the losse of *his one eye* that he loste in the prestes hows 44/30, viz. of ‚one of his eyes', since Tybert had never before been blind of one eye. (Dutch, likewise: *sijn een oghe*, p. 57).

Cf: and now I have lost *myne one eye* 108/27. (Du. simply: myn oeghe).

He smote the wulf in the heed ... and *that one of his eyen* henge out 108/4 (Du: syn een ooghe 142,17); loke hetherward to me is not *myn one eye* out 110/33; *his one hand* by whiche he deffended hym sterte in the fallyng into ysegryms throte ... 108/20 (Du: sijn een hant); and thenne the wulf ... departed out toke *that on half* for hym self, and he gaf yow a quarter &c ... 91/38; There muste ye scrape and dygge a way a lytyl the mosse on *the one side* 41/31.

Although we have a similar use in Dutch, I believe that the construction developed spontaneously in English. We have seen, under the Demonstr. Pron. that the connection *that one ... that other* was frequent. Even the use of the Demonstr. instead of the Def. Article seems to point to an opposition, so that *that one* was immediately associated with *that other*.

Now in all the instances above, the objects referred to are such as can only exist, or are generally found *in pairs*: eye, hand, half, &c. An interesting case, in this respect, is the next one where ‚buckets' are concerned:

How broughtest thou me ones in to the welle where *the two bokettys* henge by one corde rennyng thurgh one polley, thou sattest in *that one boket* bynethe in the pytte in grete drede 96/37.

It was natural that when *the one* was used with reference to such paired objects, the *other* member

of the association should have appeared before the mind's eye.

Cp. moreover, the use of *the two* = two, in Chaucer (Einenkel 16). The Def. Art. can here only be explained by the fact that ‚the two' are mentally compared to *all the rest* of the longer unit to which they belong, and which is conceived as divided into two unequal parts.

NONE. ‚*None, no' as an Adjective Pronoun.*

This *no* (*none*) = O. E. *nán* must, according to Stoffel (*Studies*, 76-114), be distinguished from the Adverb *no* = O. E. *ná* (*ne* + *á* = ‚*never*'), as well as from the absolute Adv. *no* = Germ. *nein* (*) With regard to the use of the Adj. Pron. *no* in Reynard, we notice that it still often occurs in the form *none*, *non*, not only before vowels and *h*, but before other consonants. Thus, besides take *no hede* 10/22, a poure, man is *no lorde* 13/14 it is *no wonder* 33/25, we find:

Thenne was I glad and mery and also toke *none hede* 10/28; that the wulf shold have *none holde* on hym 103/16; (the frosshys) complayned that they had *none lorde* 37/29; ther is *none thyng* byloved ne knowen in the court now adays but money 118/4.

(*) The Adj. Pron. *no* + *Subst.* interchanges with *not (an) a* + *Subst.* The distinction between both uses has been laid out, with much acuteness, by Stoffel. I may here briefly recapitulate his theory.

The essential difference is that *no* + Subst. is always in Mod. Engl. a ‚word-modifier' — whereas *not a* may be according to the cases and to the position of the stress, a ‚word-modifier, or a ‚Sentence-modifier'. To make Stoffel's meaning clear, let us quote one of his instances. ‚*He is not a fool*', with weak stress on *not* is equivalent to ‚I deny that he is a fool', the sentence being a negative one and the weak *not* being a sentence-modifier; but *he is not a fool* with not strong dressed is equivalent to *he is no fool* = ‚he is the opposite of a fool', the sentence being not really negative, since *not* in this case is a ‚word-modifyer' (p. 80). — This is the case where *no* or *not a* + Subst. is predicate. No such distinction can be made for *not a* + Subst. — Subject of Sentence. ‚Not a schoolboy would be puzzled by the question' cannot mean two things. *Not* in this case is invariably a sentence — modifier, — the following Subst. being strong-stressed (p. 83, supra). In Dutch, on the contrary, a difference of meaning may be expressed by a difference of stress: compare, *geen* schooljongen' and ‚geen *schooljongen*' (84, suprà). — Strong-stressed *not* (+ Subst.) as Object of a Verb (viz. of *to have*, for other transitive Verbs do not allow of this construction, as they are accompanied by some auxiliary, espec. by *do*), is also very rare, e. g. ‚he has *not* a wife and six children'.

We find the phrase *it was no nede* 13/1, equivalent to the mod. ‚*it's no use*'.

As to the history of this use of *none*, Franz says that *none* = *not any* still occurs in the 1st half but becomes rare in the 2d half of the XVIIth c. For traces of this use in N. E. cf. Herrig's Archiv, 1891, 4.

The Adverbial *no* = *ná* occurs, as in Mod. E. before adverbial and adjective comparatives, before some other Adj. especially before *other*, as this word, being usually followed by *than* was regarded as a comparative (Stoffel 107). Here and there we find *none*, instead of *no*:

He eteth *no more* than once a day 9/2; coude the kynge fynde *none laste messager* but yow ffor to sende hyther (*) 13/3. *None* is regular before *other*: hym behoved *none* other lighte 82/15; *none* other luste 83/25; but I myght *none other wyse* doo 99/30; my dere lorde it was *none otherwyse* 96/3 (‚No otherwise', used adverbially as in our instances occurs in Shakespeare. ‚We do no otherwise than we are willed' (Henry V, I, 3, 10 — Stoffel, 107).

From these cases we must distinguish those where the Adj. in the comparative, or *other* are used as neutral substantives. In: ‚I desire *no better* but to have wonne the felde' 112/3, *better* may be regarded as an Adverb like *more* in *no more*; but in: ‚the foxe wiste *none other* but that . . .' 23/15 and in several cases where *none other* = ‚nothing else', I consider *none* as Adjective = *nán* and *other* as Substantive. There is another possibility, viz., that *none*, e. g. in: *I desire non other* 92/41 is Subst. as in ‚I'll none of it' (Mätzn. III, 305, gives old instances of this use).

‚*None*' *as Subst.* = ‚*nobody*'.

(*) As to the distinction between *no* and *not* in these cases, Stoffel says that *not more . . . than* means ‚as (much) . . . as' whereas *no more than* = as (little) . . . as (p. 89); — *no less a . . . than* means as great a . . . as (p. 95). The distinction belongs to a late period.

I knowe *none* in al my lygnage that I now wolde laboure fore thus sore 14/16; and *none* shal wyte me therof 17/25; ther is *none* lyvyng unther the sonne, that I vouchesauf better my tresour on 41/7; I knowe *none* so trewe 41/26.

This use was still frequent in the 17th cent., and may be found even now (Franz, E. St. XVII, 395, Anm. 1).

SOMEWHAT = something:

and that coste hym *somwhat* for his thefte 10/10. Cf 51/14, 98/3. Shakesp.: This gentleman told *somewhat* of my tale. Meas. f. Meas. V. 84.

ANY, as a Subst. = anybody:

I love hem as well as *ony* may love his chyldren 37/10, &c. Still found in Spenser and Shakesp., Mätzn. III, 278.

ANY = anything:

here is but lytel to ete... what saye ye, Tybert wyl ye ony therof 20/35.

MANY as Substantive:

many do more wyth crafte and connyng, than with myght and strengthe 19/30 (Proverb).

EVERYCHE = every body:

and everyche thenne wyll be a lord him self 56/11; wherever she cam everich was glad of her 73/8. Cf 15/36, 118/15. Still in Spenser (Düring. p. 53) and Shakesp. (Abbott. 12).

We even come across ECHE BODY:

eche body pluckyth his hand fro hym 114/37. Body is used = man, like in mod. Scotch... (Cf the Fr. ‚c'est un drôle de *corps*') For various usages of *body*, vid. E. Stud. XVII, 395.

EVERYMAN:

every man beware hier by... every man wil be ther at and put more to 16/11.

ALL MAN is found with a similar sense:

he saide he wolde... lye so many lesynges ere he sholde myshappe that *all man* sholde have wondre of it 100/16.

NOMAN = nobody:

he loveth noman so wel . . . 6/34. It is worth noticing that Caxton very generally writes *noman* in one word.

MEN = people (mod. one, you, he):

ye sawe never fowle that *men* rated laye so stylle, as Isegrym dyde, whan his shoes were haled of 45/32. Also in the form *me*: nay my lord it is tyme for *me* ought not spare to doo wel 47/20 sette ye so lytyl by hony, *me* ought to preyse and love it above alle mete 13/20. *Me* ought not preyse to moche the daye tyl even be come 75/7 (Proverb).

This Indef. Pron. is not mentioned by Düring, op. cit., as in use by Spenser.

OTHER. — Still without an *s* in the plural:

but yf he had ony sorow it was bycause *al the other* that were there were not in the same plyght as the wulf 47/13. Cf 14/16, 74/5. 74/26, 79/35, 86/12. — Still frequent in the 17th cent.; cf. Bacon's Advanc. of Learning, 114/6, 62/16, 160/10 (Clar. Pr. ed.).

Other as Substantive:

send some *other* to hym 19/26; ther be many that see a strawe in an *others* eye 74/14; my wordes shal be herde as wel as anothers 92/40. — Still in Mod. & N. E. Mätzn. III, 290. For *other* Subst. = ‚the rest' see ‚that other' under Demonstr. *that*.

The mod. construction of *each . . . other* was not developed any more than in the 17th c. (Franz. op. cit. E. St. XVII, 400). The Preposition is inserted between *each* and *other*:

my fadre trusted in the prompe that eche made to other 87/18; we ben so nygh of kynne eche to other 109/15; they alle toke leve eche of other 119/8.

SUCH, as Subst., — in the plural = such people:

ffor *suche* be so woo lyke as they had loste theyr Inwytte 68/24. Neutral: bruyn the bere satte and groned and muste take *such* as was gyven to hym 16/27.

Ought, nought. — *Ought* = something, anything:

have you *ought* forgotten at lantferts 18/23. Cp. mo-

dern: for ought I know' — *Nought* = nothing: myn eme gate ne had nought 8/6. — Freq. in 17th century. Franz. E. St. XVII, 399; Mod. ‚all to nought'.

I found two instances of the word *thing* used as a Pronoun. In a few cases it seems as if the word *thing* were used as an Indefinite = something, anythyng. This is only apparent, *thing* being only an old plural form without *s* (Cf. Römstedt, *Schriftsprache bei Caxton*, 37):

I were not wyse yf I sholde saye *thynge* that were not trewe 40/36; Thynge that thoucheth charge ought to be gyven in knowleche to frendis 68/19; *thoucheth* may also be explained as an old 3rd pers. plur. (Römstedt, 46).

In the next instance however *much thing*, really seems to be a sort of Indefinite = Fr. ‚grand chose'.

There is *moche thynge* complayned over you 24/15.

ALL. *All* is often prefixed to a following Pers. Pronoun:

all we instead of mod. we all: *all we* agree to the same 57/29 thenne may ye have honour and worship and *all we* that ben your frendys 105/18; *all they:* alle they thenne lefte bruyn the bere lye 17/2.

And *alle they* cryeden wyth myn enemyes agaynst me 113/20.

all them:

all them that were in the hows 22/20 *alle them* that wold here it 34/12.

This use is old. Murray gives the following references: — c. 1000: *Ealle hi sind an Godes gesihpe*, Aelfric's Saints L, I, 140 — 1382: *alle we as shep erreden.* Wycliffe, Isa. LIII, 6—164: *alle we like sheep have gone astray.*

For *all* Subst. used as an Accus. absol. in ‚alle that he coude, myght' see *Adverb.*

‚Alle the world' seems to be an emphatic expression

of *all*, comparable to the mod. ‚what in the world':

Though thou promysedest to me *alle the world* of fyn rede gold I wold not let the(e) . . . escape 110/21.

Hesitation as to NUMBER of Indefinite Pronouns. — The Personal Pronoun referring to an Indefinite such as *many*, *eche*, is sometimes in the plural, sometimes in the singular and both forms may occur in the same sentence:

And *many* ben ther that be so plompe and folisshe that whan *they* wene beste to prononce and shewe *their* mater and conclude. *They* falle besyde and out therof . . . and leve theyr mater wythout tayl or heed and *he* is compted for a fool 65/10.

Me thynketh it is so hyere, ther be *many* that see a strawe in anothers eye, that can not see a balke in *his* owne there be many that deme other, and *hym self* is worst of alle, thaugh *one* falle ofte, and at laste aryseth . . . *he* is not therof dampned 74/4-6.

Eche of them followed by plural pronoun 98/36, 119/13: *eche* of them wente to *their* own howses.

A collection of similar cases, with *every body*, *nobody*, &c is given by Jespersen in ‚Progress. in Lang.', p.p. 29, 30 (*If everybody was what they should be.* G. Eliot, &c). The author considers the use of the plural pronoun as a way of supplying the missing genderless singular, viz. he believes that *they* is used, as the speaker feels that neither *he* nor *she* will do. — and finds in the fact an additional argument for his thesis, that ‚In language, analysis means suppleness, and synthesis means rigidity'.

Mätzner's explanation (‚der Grund dieser Abirrungen liegt in der Verwechslung distributiever und kollectiever Begriffe' II, 150) applies rather to the case with ‚many'.

Numerals.

Bothe two is found, instead of *both*:

the cony laprel and the roek were so sore aferde that they durste not speke, but pyked and stryked them out of the court *bothe two* 71/26. (In Du: simply ‚si streken beyde uten hove' 92,7).

The form *tweyne* occurs besides *two*, e. g. 7/28, 71/35, 105/27. Römstedt observes (E. Schriftspr. bei Caxt. 39) that this form is only found after the Noun, or when used absolutely. We find however:

ther laye in a grete ape *with tweyne grete wide eyen*, and they glymmed as a fyre 98/18.

Note the apposition of Numerals to Pers. Pr. in *we ten*, *them thre* 83/36.

V E R B.

Impersonal Verbs.

While O. E. was very rich in Impersonal Verbs, this construction is decreasing in M. E., partly, no doubt, in consequence of the confusion between cases. The change may be noticed in Caxton.

However, several verbs expressing states of the human mind, inclinations or disinclinations have kept the impersonal form:

Lyst: hym lusted no lenger to smyte the bere 16/38; Also personal 96/26.

Repent: that me repenteth 28/2, whiche me sore repenteth 46/3, 53/1.

Behoove: reynard yow behoveth wel suche shoes 45/19; ‚suche shoes' probably represents the O. E. Genitive of the thing, — *behôvian* being used like *opus est* (Mätzn. II, 204); it is possible however that it is a Nominative and that we have in *behoveth* the old southern ending of the plural in - eth (cf: ... *for them that understandeth it* 4/21); — as it behoved 85/25. Thow haste so ofte deceyved me that me behoveth now to take good hede of thee 110/31. — Also used personally in the sense of ‚be needed': Constance is fythyng and behoveth to the lordes. Cf: 31/31, 45/19.

Growle: hym myght growle that ever he sawe hym 78/37. (Du: hem *gruwelen* mocht 101/11). Tho cryde he alas me growleth of thyse fowle nyckers 100/21. (Du: mi *gruwelt* ... van desen jonghen nickers 132,12); tho growled them alle and were aferd of that syeding water 114/11. (Du: Doe gruwelde hem allen over dat siedende water 150,16).

The word must be regarded as a ‚Dutchism' in Caxton. It is not mentioned in Stratmann's M. E.

Dictionary, nor in Skeat's glossary to the Works of Chaucer. *Me growleth* must not be confused with N. E. *growl* = grumble. The latter is referred by Skeat to Du. *grollen* and mentioned as a new word in Vanbrugh's ‚Confederacy', 1705. (Kington Oliphant, *New English*, p. 140).

Me growleth, on the contrary = *gruwelen* (etym. connected with O. E. *gryre*, Germ. *graus*).

Plese: Mercyful lord my lord the kynge plese it yow to here our complaynte 9/32.

Think is very often used impersonally in *me thynketh* = modern *methinks*. On the origin of this verb, see Mätzn. II, 208. The examination of our text does not corroborate Kellner's statement, that there is a striking want of inflexion in the Impersonal Verbs, especially in *thynk* = seem (Kelln. 23).

On the contrary Caxton has very regularly *me thinketh* and I cannot quote a single instance of *me thynk*.

Caxton also uses the impersonal construction in the passive:

But abyde by yow to the utterist how wel *it hath ben otherwyse enformed* your hyenes 115/21; theron *was hewen* in grete letters in this wyse 11/17.

As a grammatical subject we find *it*, as well in true Impersonal Verbs as in impersonal constructions where a logical subject follows. In this case *it* announces the logical subject and at the same time sustains, as it were, the Verb. *Hit* appears in O. E. See Mätzner II, 17.

Instead of the grammatical subject *it*, we find the adverb *there* used as a support for Impersonal Verbs. *There* is then pleonastic and does not point to the *place* where the action happens, although this was its original sense which may still vaguely be felt:

I trowe it is beste that I goo wyth you for *ther lacketh* my counseyl 24/29. (*)

Constructions with *there* can only be termed impersonal in a wide sense. In fact, the subject of the action is expressed; yet, by means of *there*, this action is presented as if it were a spontaneous effect. This reminds us of the use of the Fr. ‚il y a', ‚il est'. Besides, instances of *þaer* instead of *hit* may be found in O. E. *þaer waerþ geworden mycel eorþ-bifung* (Math. 28,2). Moreover, Caxton seems to be here influenced by the Dutch.

The bere sprange up ... emonge an heep of wyvis that he threwe a deel of hem in the ryver ... *ther was* the persons wyf one of them ... 16/37. Perhaps we have here a blinding of two constructions: there was ... emonge them ... and: the persons wyf was *one* of them. Dutch: daer was des pastoers wijf mede 22,1. *There leept and ranne* alle that *there was* 22/22. It is possible that the first *there* has kept its local meaning. Cf. the Du. daer liept al datter was 29,7.

I pray yow ... that ye wil punysshe this false traytour and morderar or ellis *shal ther* noman goo and comen over the heth in saefte 55/11. (Du: daer en sal nyemant over die heyde vaeren 70,29). — In *ther cam olde wymen*, &c ... 15/35, the action is again conceived as impersonal: what is meant is an ‚irruption' of old women (Cf Du: *daer quamen oude queven ghelopen* 20/22).

The Impersonal construction may be justified in the last instances by the fact that the logical subjects are indefinite or collective. — *There* is also found with Verbs in the Passive.

I consider the construction as impersonal in the next three instances because the Subject, although

(*) With the impers. *lacketh* cp *nedeth* 24/38. — Traces of this construction, when found in later authors, e. g. in Shakespeare, are often explained as the use of a *transitive* verb in an intransitive or *passive* sense: lacks = is needed (Abbott, § 298). But the reason of this is, that these verbs were originally impersonal. For *nedeth*, in O. E. see Mätzn. II, 6.

expressed, is a word cognate to the Verb, and is therefore merged into the predicate:

Ther was daunsed manerly the hovedaunce 54/14.

Ther was never lyed a greter lesyng 57/37.

Ther was never suche a prouffre prouffred to ony kynge 109/2.

The corresponding Du. passages are:

Men dansede daer manierliken den hovedans 69,19.

Nye en wart meerre loeghen gheloghen 74,13.

Ic waene nye coninck soe schonen ghebot gheboden en wert 143,23.

In the first example, we have the indefinite *men*, which confirms my view that the E. passive Verb is used impersonally in order to denote an action with an undetermined subject like in the Latin *dicitur*. This is evidently the sense of the passive in the following instance:

ther upon was leyde a marble stone... and theron *was hewen* in grete letters in this wyse 11/17. (the Du. quite similarly has: Ende daer wert op gehouwen... aldus 14/28).

The original sense of the Adverb is also obscured and the construction impersonal in: *what is there happed* 55/30. This is not a question meaning, ‚what has happened here?' The rook knows very wel what has happened and the phrase is exclamative as the construction shows us:

he caught her by the heed and boote it off tho was I in grete sorowe and cryde lowde Alas alas *what is there happed* (Not so in Du: O wi o wach wat ghesciet daer 71,20).

This passage throws light on another interesting case:

Ther is a beer taken 15/28. (Du: Daer is een beer ghevanghen 20/13.

The sense is not: ‚in that place a bear lies, having

been taken'; the important part of the statement is not the presense of a bear in a certain situation, but the news of the taking of the bear. I say ‚the news' because it seems to me that *there* has here, as well as *daer* in the Du. original a meaning akin to the temporal one, so that I should paraphrase the passage in this way: ‚a bear has just been taken'.

The sense of the Past Pple also deserves our attention. It is not a mere attributive Adjective referring to *beer*, it is connected with *is*. It denotes an action which is entirely past, so that the present *is*, joined to this Past Pple, has the sense of a perfect tense (cf: the Lat. *captus sum*) But the result of this action is considered as being *still felt* and in this, if I am not mistaken, resides the the efficacy of the construction *there is*.

The omission of *it* or of *there* in Impersonal Verbs is still frequent in Caxton:

With *lyst, behoove*, &c., see above.

With *thynk*, I found but one instance of *it*: ‚It thynketh me good' 60/40, and one of *that* 8/21.

Though ye be not grete *ther lyeth not on* 19/30, — a literal translation of the Du: *daer en ligt niet an* 25,17, where *niet* probably is an Indefinite Pronoun = *niets*.

Where as *nedeth* subtyl counseyl 24/38.

So faryth by me 89/36. *Swa hit fareth* is found in E. M. E. (Stratmann's Dictionary).

In lyke wyse is fallen to me 68/25.

Note the presence of the comparative expressions *so, lyke wyse* in the last two instances:

The omission of *it* was usual, as it still is now, in clauses, especially in comparative clauses. See Mätzn. II, 33.

As is to god wel acceptable. — 64/5, *as moche as in hym is* 96/26.

But *it* is found also:

As it wel semed 106/35.

It may be omitted in impersonal phrases formed of *is* + *Noun*:

the more pity is 87/8; *whan nede is and tyme* 103/21. (The Du. has slightly different constructions).

There is omitted in the following passage:

We ben so nygh of kynne eche to other that of right *shold be no angre bytwene us* 109/15. (The Du. has a personal construction).

Transitive and Intransitive Verbs.

The faculty which constitutes a feature of English, that of using the same Verb indifferently in a transitive, intransitive, causative or reflexive sense, according to Kellner became ripe in the Elizabethan period, but was nearly complete in Caxton.

I first mention the construction of Intransitive Verbs with cognate Accusatives. The result of the action, or the very activity expressed by the Verb is in this case regarded as its Object. The accusative must not necessarily be a word of the same root as the verb provided it has a cognate meaning:

He *fylle* so grete *a falle* ... 27/30; how many a grete lesyng must I *lye* 49/31; she *hytte* me at the fyrst stroke vj grete *woundes* in my heed 63/14; wyth grete angre he lyft up his foot and *smote* the foxe on the heed so grete a *stroke* that he fyl to the grounde 106/29, &c. tho cam reyner in a grete angre and *bote* hym the grete woundes on his heed 106/17.

Closely allied to this, is the construction of Intransitive Verbs followed by an accusative denoting space or distance:

He *wente* his *waye* 10/11. I coniure yow by the *longe*

waye that youre soule shal *goo* 35/24; He *ranne* the *hye way* to maleperduys ward 58/21; Tho *wente* he his *strete* 55/36.

Among the remaining cases, I first examine the use of some verbs of teutonic origin:

Abyde, — intransitive:

I shal be to you a tryew friende and *abyde* by yow 13/23; ... yf we *abode* here 20/32; he wil not for me neyther come ne *abyde* 19/25;

sometimes used almost as an auxiliary verb: *murdre abydeth not hid* 89/27;

transitive: for t(o) *abyde* suche right and sentence as shal be there gyven 12/18. Cf 19/7.

The simple *byden* is also found, used intransitively: And in nede alway have *byden* by yow 67/27.

O. E. *ábídan* was used either alone or with a genitive, rarely with an Accusative (Koch, p. 99).

Aby(d)e is a different Verb = *abye*, O. E. *ábycgan*, pay for. The *d* has been inserted by the Editor, without any reason. *Abye* gives a forcible meaning and is indicated by the Dutch text: ... he had fasted and prayde that yf I lyve a yere he shal *aby(d)e* it 11/5 (Du: hi salt becopen).

he hath confessyd hymself that he ... consentyd to kywardes deth, it is reson that he *aby(d)e it* 59/12. (Du: Mogelic is dat hi dat becoep 68,12).

Menen:

intransitive: the foxe *mente of* good strokes 14/21;

transitive: ... he *mente* no *falsehede* 57/12 (Du: gheen beschuyt in *dochte* 73,21).

The same word as Du. *meenen*, but also as O. E. *máenan*.

Sorrow;

intransitive, 14/40; transitive: there dede he *that* I may wel *sorowe* and bewaylle 39/34.

O. E. *sorgian*, E. M. E. *sorgien*, were intransitive.

Herken, hark, transitive: 41/18, 97,27, also with *after* 41/16.

O. E. *hercnian*, with Genitive, Koch 84.

Answer: late me *answere this fowle theef* 30/16.

O. E. *andswarian* with Dative. M. E. often with *to*. Koch 84.

Trust: transit., 41/26.

truste 41/26; trans.: I have none ... that I truste so moche *to* 20/21.

O. E. *treowsian* Koch, 86.

Get:

he wrastled and plucked so harde and so sore that he *gate out his heed* 16/1.

O. E. *gietan* (only in compounds) = become. Koch, 10.

Speed, intransitive in:

I have now wel *spedde* 17/24; How bruyn the bere *spedde* wyth the foxe, Table, capit. VII;

but also transitive, and even used in the passive:

how brunne the beere *was sped* of Reynart the foxe, Title of capit. VII.

Cf. Chaucer: God spede you (C. T., A, 2558),

O. E. *spédan*. E. M. E. often *it spedith ... to* Koch, 92.

Breke, *cleve*,

intransitive in: me thynketh my bely wylle breke or cleve asonder 13/9. Transitive: ... a grete oke *whiche* he had begonne to *cleve* 14/27.

O. E. *brecan*, used in the same way, Koch, 6.

Stere,

intransitive: he *styred* not 45/34, transitive: they myght not *stere hande ne foot* 45/3.

Transitive verbs are derived from intransitive ones by means of a preposition or of the prefixes *for*, *be*, &c. These compounds were more numerous in Caxton than now:

Compounds with *be*, *bi*:

Byfalle, sometimes intransitive; I thought by this a lyknesse whiche hier a fore tyme *byfylle to* the frosshis 37/27; *bewaylle* 39/34; *belyke*, resemble: *reynkin* my yongest son *belyketh me* so well 25/13.

Lican, impers. Verb in O. E. Koch, 86.

Belye: I crye out harowe on them that so falsely have *belyed me* 67/29.

Similar compounds are formed from Substantives: *bysiege*, — *byslabbed* 98/30 (Du. word, s. *Reynart* 129,33, *Inleiding*, LI); *byclagged*, ibid. (genuine Du. word, S. *Reynaert* ibid.).

Note also the following compounds with *by*, from Transitive Verbs:

byhelde 63/25, *bywrappe* = cover 71/28, *byknowen* 70/14, *bydwongen* 37/29, 50/12, probably Dutch (not found in Stratman, nor in Skeat's Glossary to Chaucer); *beryspe*, p. 27 (Dutch); *bywymple* 64/36, perhaps due to Du. influence (s. on this word, Prof. Logeman's note in *Reynaert*, Inleid., LI); I *benamme* his lyf from hym 61/35 (not Du: dat ic hem ... dat leven *ghenomen* hadde); And for grete payne he *byshote* hymself 111/12; (Du: ende dat hi hem van groter pynen mit allen *bescheet* 146,34); the Pret. *schoot* is quoted by Stratmann, *i. v.* schíten; *bydryve* 73/24, 78/39, probably borrowed (Mull. and Logem., L.)

Compounds with *for*: the kynge wold not *forgoo hym* 90/6. (Du: Die coninc en woude sijne oec niet ontberen 118/13; I have *forwrought* (= ruined) and angred my frendes 52/38. — Note also *forhongred* 114/18, and from Transitive Verbs: *fordoo* 38/11, *fordryve* 70/5.

Compounds with *mys*:

... whiche *mysfylle* her *evyl* 55/26; I wold ever *myssake hym* 116/16.

The last Verb is not found in Stratmann's Dictionary and is probably borrowed: the Du. has: ic woude dan ewelic *syns missaken* 152,33. But it was formed on the analogy of the E. verb forsake and used like

it with the accusative. Cf O. E. *sácan* = to fight, chide, Intransitive.

The following Transitive Verbs are likewise borrowed:

wappred and *forslyngred* hym 16/17 (note that the Du. has *slingeren* without prefix and see Prof. Logeman's note Reyn., Inleid. LII); on the morow erly he *ruymed* his castel (Du. des morghens vroe doe *ruymde* hi 78,15).

The matter stands differently with *dowed* in:

I *dowed* the cony bytwene his eerys (Du: Ic *duwede* 79/17), the foxe *dowed* and wronge his genytours 111/11 (Du: *duwede* 146/32). — See Stratmann's M. E. Dict. *in voce þewen*, p. 633.

Letten = hinder is also genuine, although there is a similar Du. verb *letten*. Cf. O. E. lettan & S. Chaucer C. T., E, 389.

A bold use of an Intransitive Verb as a Transitive: *have you slepte your dyner* 63/5. This is a translation from the Du: *Hebdi u eten verslapen* 81/6. The sense is given by R. II, 4077: gheslapen op u mael. See Muller & Logeman, Notes, p. 178.

I pass on to verbs of Romance origin. The following are used in the transitive sense:

amende:

the transitive is here the primitive use (*emendare*): amende it 73/30, amende hym 79/29,31;

accompany:

ye reysed and accompanyed your self with ... a persone agravate 43/23;

complayn:

This complayn I to yow gracious kynge 10/39. In E. M. E. always with Genitive Koch, 103.

The simple Verb *playn* is generally found as intransitive:

she *playneth* not 8/19; he complayneth and I playne not 69/10.

escape: with *from* 31/36; with the *Accusative* 30/35;

eschewe, avoid, generally translates the Du: *scuwen*, but comes like the latter from O. Fr. *eschiver* (O. H. G. skiuhan, G. scheuen).

With *of* = prayde the kynge to have mercy on hym in *eschewyng* of more harm 36/11;

generally with the accusative ... every man almost es(c)heweth his companye and waye 112/28.

Espy, is used without object. I found no instance of *espy* + *of*. (Cf Chaucer, *Tr.* and *Cr.* 6, 6).

Mervayl = wonder, often Intransitive: 48/31, 52/6. — O. Fr. *merveillier*, transitive in the sense of ‚admire' — in the sense of ‚wonder' generally Reflexive: *se mervilher*.

Repent:

we becomen felaws *whiche* I may wel *repente* 34/37.

Generally used in M. E. with *of* S. Koch, 103.

Remember: I wold fayn *remember my sowle* (= think of) 10/24.

It is sometimes difficult to say, owing to the confusion of cases, whether the object is in the Accusative or the Dative. The last interpretation is probable when the simple object interchanges with the prepositional object preceded by *to*, as in the following verbs: *owe*, 42/17, *tell* 37/24, *show*, *plese*, *oby*, the latter generally with *to*, cf 37/38.

This is especially the case for constructions with a double object. The Dative is essentially a personal case, therefore, we often find the personal object preceded by *to*. This *to* is perhaps more frequent in Caxton than in Present English where there is a tendency to replace it by the simple case when the object immediately follows the verb:

And I *gyve to hym* his lyf and membre frely agayn 44/8; *gaf to hym self* better hope than his herte sayde 20/7. I

and my wyf the quene have *promysed to hym* our grace and frendshyp 44/5.

Mätzner admits that there is an original Accusative of the person in two cases: after verbs of *request* (*I ask you pardon*) and after verbs of *exclusion* (*We banish you our territories*). See Mätzn. II, 219, 220.

As regards the first category, it is worth noting that Caxton uses the Genitive of the person after *demand:*

of suche thyng as I shal *demaunde of you* 42/18; I demanded *of her* how she wold selle it 62/8; here demand = ask a question.

The *Genitivus rei* is found after *pray*:

ere I departe fro this worlde *I pray you of a bo(o)ne* 34/5.

Note also the constructions with two Accusatives:

Thank: — *that thanked hym* the bere 14/18. *That thank* I *my subtylytie* 49/36.

The Du. has the Genitive: ‚*des* dancke ick' . . . The construction is not mentioned for Chaucer by Einenkel (S. *Streifzüge* 108 &c) but is found in Orm and Layamon.

Present: Parys herde this venus whiche *presented hym this* grete Joye . . . 84/7 (Du: Parijs die hoerde hoer *dit presenteren* 110,8). The construction ‚to present somebody with something' is however also very old. (Mentioned in the ‚Romance of the Emperor Octavian' ab. 1370). (K. Oliphant, *New English*, V, 83).

Hold = consider. The two accusatives here refer to the *person*. Caxton also has the construction with *for:* I *heelde you for* one of the wysest clerkes that now lyve 63/18.

In connection with this case, I mention the following one of a verb with two accusatives, one of which has for the other the funtion of a Predicate and ought to be preceded by *for*, *to* or by *as:*

And also *amendes* he shal *gyve* to you *bellyn the ramme*

and alle his lignage . . . in suche wyse that where somever ye fynde them . . . ye may frely byte and ete them wythoute ony forfayte 53/24. The (Du. *ter soenen* . . . gheven).

Here with Accusative of the person and Genitive *rei:* I wolde ye wold *here me* now *of* alle that I have trespaced in 61/24.

For Intransitive Verbs, used, like Transitive ones, in the *Passive* and the *Reflexive* voice, see the following chapters.

The complement of this freedom was the faculty of coining Verbs from Substantives, Adjectives &c. e. g.:

angre, make angre 28/9, 49/29, 53/38 &c. *lenghte* the time 33/6. I shal *shorte* the mater 31/19 *vitaille* (O. Fr. *vitailles* = victualia) = furnish, provide, — not mentioned as a Verb in Stratmann; — *felawship*: I herde never of none that *hath felawsshippid* with hym 74/37 (also in Wycliffe). *Knowleche: knowleche* hym overcomen 108/30 (also in Langland and Mandeville).

Besides the tendency to convert Intransitives into Transitives, I must point to the opposite tendency to treat transitive verbs as Intransitives, or to use the latter in an absolute sense, without any determinant, — a peculiarity which has not generally been noticed:

steken, prick: ther was a vylayne that *stake* on us wyth a pyke 98/15 (Du: stak nae ons 125,19, but steken is a usual M. E. verb).

Cf . . . and began to *stryke* and *smyte* . . . *upon* his heed and visage 16/9.

Say, speak: the kynge saide Reynart ye *saye* resonably 93/5.

(the Du. has ‚spreket');

stele, walk stealthily: Late us departe and *stele* secretly away in somme other forest 49/19;

curse: we shal *curse* tor them in alle chirchys 81/27. Does this refer to some practise of legitimate imprecations

in order to find lost objects? The Du. has: soe sal men se *vervloeken* ende *te banne doen* 105,31; here the Verbs refer not to the lost jeivels, as in Caxton, but to the people that know about them: *die daer of weten*.

Notice *leve* in the sense of *be left, remain:*

Eche of them take his part... yf eche of hem had had one more ther sholde but lytyl *have lefte* over 60/19 Du: daer en bleeft niet over. Cf. Stratmann, M. E. Dictionary.

Chide: I wil not moche *chyde wyth* you 67/13.

Hate: where they *hate* they loke frendly 60/31.

Wynne: he *wynneth* in the spyrituel lawe and temporal 65/1.

Seke: one shal alway *seke on* his frendis 70/33 (Du. sijn vrienden... besueken 91,3) this was the original use. — Note the special sense of seke = demand require, which is perhaps due to the Dutch in: ‚hongre... *seketh* narrowly to be holpen' 77/10 (The passage is a free translation of: ‚so *soect* men die noot durft nauwe' 99/4);

seke is also used as a Transitive Verb: *what I seche* I fynde not 27/24.

Romance Verbs:

Dissymyle: the foxe dissymyled and saide 42/8.

Graunt, graunt acquiesce, O. Fr. *graunt*: The serpent graunted therto 75/38.

Mocke: thus scorned and *mocked* the foxe 23/10.

O. Fr. identical with *moucher* (*Mueum*-are), transitive:

Tary has undergone the influence of O. Fr. *targer (tardicare)* but is properly derived from O. E. *tergan*, to vex, hinder, delay, transitive (S. Skeat, Etym. Dict.).

Used by Caxton as an Intransitive, absolutely or with a prepositional object: *ye tary long; — ye taryed after hym*. For other constructions of *tary*, see Kellner, Lii.

I lastly mention some Intransitive Verbs which are borrowed from the Du. and some others which, being no longer used, might seem to be in the same case:

rutselen 18/23 (Du: hi begon te rutselen over sinen stert 27/7;

wentelen 18/24 (Du: so wentelde hi dan licht een half mile 24,8);

ye *borde* and *iape* 27/24; men muste *Jape bourde* and *lye* 65/25. Both words are M. E. — *boert, boerten,* stands in the Du. text but the M. E. Verb was derived from O. Fr. bourder. *taste* = touch, feel: Isegrym tasted here and there 27/23 Du: hi *tastede* hier hi *tastede* daer 35/26;

wringe used without object: he wrange he wrastled and cryed 15/16. Although the phrase is closely modelled on the Du., there is no borrowing: ‚hi toech, hi worstelde ende hi riep' 20,1.

plucke, without object: he wrastled and *plucked* so harde and so sore 15/39. (Not Du: doe toech hi soe harde ende soe swaerlic 20/26;

crutch (= cratch, according to Dr. Murray).

he sawe wel that he begyled was he began to howle and to braye and *crutched* wyth the hynder feet.

Du: ende krassede mitten aftersten voeten 19,28.

Intransitive Verbs used with an ‚absolute' meaning:

go with a fuller meaning = walk was probably brought about by the Du. text:

he supposed never to have *goon* (h)is feet were so sore 16/6;

Dutch: hi en waende nymmermeer te *gaen* die voeten die waren hem so seer 20/32.

Whan reynart and grymbert had *goon* a whyle to gydre 25/24.

Du: Doe reynert ende grymbert een stuc *ghegaen waren* 33,5.

I *goo* in drede and ieopardye of my lyf 25/26, viz. not: ‚I goo into' but ‚I go about in'. Du: ic gae in vresen van der doot 33,3.

Witen:

he was caught in the gryn by the necke and er he *wyste* 22/1.

The Du. has the neutral Pronoun: eer hij*t* wiste.

Pres. Engl. *know* is used in the same way, whereas the Fr., except in the affermative phrase ‚je sais' generally requires the undetermined object.

Become is also found with a fuller meaning than it usually has at present. This Verb has become a ‚quasi-auxiliary', that is to say it cannot, any more than *be*, form a Predicate by itself. In the following passages it has retained its etymological sense of motion and is followed by *where*:

Alas in what daunger be ye comen in, *where* shal ye *become* 58/24 (Du: waer sul di bleven 75,10). I wold fayn knowe *where they ben be comen* 80/36 (waer die ghebleven waeren 105,9) I shal wyte *wher* thise Iewellis *ben becomen* 81/27 (Du: waer... ghebleven sijn 106,9).

Cf. Chaucer, Misc. Poems, 7, 247: Alas! wher is become your gentilesse!

Become is used in Pres. English as a quasi-auxiliary in order to express the *progressive passive*: ‚became changed', ‚became mingled' I believe there is a similar use of the word in this passage:

Whan Isegrym the wulf... wente in to religion and *become* a monk *shorn* in the ordre 43/10 (i. e. ‚was shorn into the order of monks') Cf the Du: Doe Isegrym — en moninck beschoren wort 55/24.

Auxiliary Verbs.

Be is often found instead of the present *have*, — even with verbs used transitively:

Was goon 25/21, *was escaped* 17/10, *be departed* 49/14, *was falle* 27/32, *is happed* 55/30.

Of course in most of the cases, *be* or *have* might still be used according as we consider a periphrastic tense with be or have + Past Pple, as representing a *complete* or an *incomplete* present. But it seems to me that the first point of view was the most frequent in *Reynard*.

HAVE, besides its use as an auxiliary and its sense of *possessing* can have some special meanings which I may mention here:

Thy that were wonte to sytte there I *have* (= get, bring, them awaye 27/27; the wulf was *had* to the kychen 90/30. Such thynges as dayly ben *used* and *had* in the counseyllys of lordes 4/6 (Du: gehanteert ende gebruyct); he *had* alle other beestis *in despyte* 36/31 (= *held* in despite, despised).

WILL, sometimes with its complete sense of ‚be willing':

I *wold* that ye wolde aventure... 7/27; she sware... that she *wolde* it had coste her alle... 22/35; where ben they that so *wolde* doo, that is to destroye them self for to kepe yow 40/2.

The next passages are still more characteristic:

The bestes... wondred what the kynge *wold* 42/14;

He ran to the mare and axed her *how she wold* selle her fool or kepe it 62/32.

For instances in Shakespeare, s. Abbott, § 329.

I found an instance of *will* with the ‚frequentative' sense it has in such Pres. English phrases as: ‚When I was young, professors, *would invite* their pupils on Sundays' (Mätzner does not refer to this use):

And alwey whan he had so smyten hym thenne *wolde to goo* above the wynde and reyse the duste that it made his eyen ful of stufs 107/4: ‚Willen' is not used in the corresponding Du. passage 140/30.

Note also the interrogative phrase *wille we*, used as a sort of plural Imperative (1st person), equivalent to the present E. ‚suppose' (we do this):

Reynard sayde *wylle we* this nyght *be* to gydre, I wyl make you good chyere &c. 20/18. (The Du. has differently: neve *wi willen* tavont te samen bliven 26,17).

SHALL. — In the following passage *shall* means ‚is obliged to' but is used in a relative clause, so that it has not its usual Imperative value:

your eme thaught me ones a prayer that is of moche vertue to hym that shal fyghte 102/34. The Du. has *moeten* 135,8.

An analogous instance from Shakesp. is quoted by Abbott, § 315.

Shal = must:

They wepe and crye by cause I *shal* goo fro them 60/29.

Note the use of *shall* instead of *will* in the following instances:

Yf ye have wel eten he shal geve you better to drynke and thenne it *shal* not styke in your shrote 15/24.

Ete not to(o) moche it *shold* do you harme 15/21.

Now is brune goon an his waye toward the foxe... whiche supposed wel that the foxe *sholde* not have begyled hym 12/5 &c.

MAY is found with the sense of *can:*

ye gaf hym no more than the grate or bones whyche ye *myght* not ete your self 8/1. What prouffyteth bruyn the bere that he stronge and hardy is, that *may* not helpe them 15/10. I wold goo but nay it *may* not bee 43/7. Cf 67/11, 115/35.

The Du. has here same sense of *mogen*, but this was frequent in M. E. and is still found in Shakespeare, (Abbott § 312).

CAN is found with a complete sense = know, be able and may be followed by an Infinitive or by a Noun-Object:

Ye *can* many a *subtylete* and *can* wel helpe yourself 98/8; he is so subtyl and *can* so many *deceytes*

31/37; I *can* wel *frenshe latyn englissh* and *duche* 62/24.

To this use belongs the phrase *can thank* = Fr. ‚savoir gré'.

I *can* hym no *thanke* that hath sente you over this longe hylle 12/38. Cf 19/3, 38/2, 75/2. Cf Chaucer Rom. of the Rose. B. 2112: ‚can hym no thank for his servyse'.

I shal not *conne* wel goo thyder 13/7 (Du: mogen... gaen) you shold not thenne wel *conne* goo to the court 15/22 (Du: mogen... gaen). He had not *conne* fynde a peny therof 39/14 (no auxiliary in Du: hee en hadde niet een penine... gevonden 50,31). Cf 23/3, 42/3, 63/34, 69/9, 102/8.

In none of these instances do we find a parallel use in the Du. text. For Shakesp. see Abbott, § 307.

Do. *Do* may have a *complete* sense = *behave, act* and be used absolutely:

My fader dyde not as he shold have *don* to you 90/15.

The kynge dyde forth (= continued) with his courte 54/5.

Note *do on, do of* = put:

dyde on the shoys 45/29; don of your gloves 18/11.

Do may be used to avoid the repetition of other Verbs:

Ye ete the good plays allone... in lyke wyse *dyde* ye to hym of the fatte vlycche of bacon 8/1 Cf 99/33, 105/33, 111/7.

To this use belongs the negative reply: *I do not:*

Reyn. sayd ye moke and Jape therwyth. The catte saide so helpe me god *I doo not* 21/11.

Tybert ye Jape. — reynard quod he in trouth *I doo not* 21/16.

Do was not regularly used, as it is now, in the interrogation and the negation. This is a late development hardly to be found in M. E. Einenkel quotes a few instances of *do* in negative sentences (p. 232), for Chaucer. In *Piers Plowman*, *do* occurs twice in negative, but not in interrogative phrases (*Wandschneider*, Synt. des Verbs in Langley, p. 13). The

modern rule was not yet fixed in Shakespeare, s. Abbott, §§ 305, 306.

On the contrary, *do* was used redundantly in affermative sentences where it has not, as it seems, any special purpose of emphasizing the meaning:

Prayde hym that he wold *doo sece* the batayll and take it up in to his hande 111/26. I shal *do* late you have so moche that ten of yow shold not ete it at one mele 13/31; ther muste be two or thre atte leste to gydre... that *don* late the sentence gon 76/10. Cf 54/12, 54/16. (*)

There is sometimes some difficulty in distinguishing this *do* from *do* = cause, make (see *Infinitive*). In: ‚(the mare) hath *do* wryte the pris of her colte under her fote' 62/19, Caxton probably misunderstood the Du. ‚heeft geschreven' 80,10, as meaning: she has written the price ‚whereas it really means: she has the price written'. — If this supposition is correct, *do* is, here again, redundant.

Moten, O. E. *mōtan*, out of which was derived the praeterito-praesens *most*, *must* is found in:

I pray god that evyl *mote* (= may) he fare 91/42.

Goo and drowne them that evyl *mote* they fare 100/23.

Reflexive and Passive Verbs.

Reflexive Verbs. A tendency may be observed in Mod. English, to convert Reflexive Verbs into Intransitive ones, — probably by dropping the Reflexive Pronoun.

Traces of this use may be found even in O. E. For

(*) On the redundant or periphrastic *do* in N. E. see H. Dieter, *Das umschreibende do in der neuenglischen Prosa*, Iena 1895.

instances from the A. S. Gospels. See Mätzn, II, 68.

Reflexive Verbs were therefore more numerous in Caxton than at present.

Among these Verbs some were originally transitive so that the pronoun which follows them was an Accusative:

Yield: Now chese whether ye wyl *yelde yow* as overcome 108/23. Cf: *yield thee, Minotti,* Byron, Siege of Corinth, 27.

Kepe: I wyl fyrste teche them how they shal *kepe them* fro the grynnes, fro the hunters and fro the houndes 60/27.

O. E. *cépan*: to buy, to traffic, — store up, transitive.

Lay: Reynart . . . *leyde hym,* under an hawthorn 10/26. — Cf. Scott, Rokeby, 3, 8: he *laid him* down.

Refrain: he coude not *refrayne hym self* 29/4. — Likewise in O. French.

Dispose: . . . how *I dispose me* bothe erly and late in your servyse 66/29.

Amend: who that never mysdede . . . hath no dede to *amende hym* 73/29.

Pain: payne yourself to werke soo that ye wynne the prys 105/16.

Cf: Et sachiés que moult *se penoit.*
De faire a Dieu priéres faintes (Rom. de la Rose).

Pain sometimes occurs in M. E. without Reflexive. S. Koch, p. 20. — The Verb is still reflexive in Pres. English. So are *behave*; — *bethink:* (O. E. He beþóhte hine. Luc. 15,17.)

Other verbs were originally intransitive, e. g. *rest* which however was already in O. E. used with a Reflexive Pronoun in the *Accusative.* (Koch, 15; Mätzn. II, 70), and the verbs of rest in general, such as *sit, stand,* which were in O. E. followed by a Reflexive in the Dative, e. g. *him laei,* (Mätzn. loc. citat.).

Perhaps we have a survival of this use in such instances as:

He wente to lande for to *sitte* and *reste hym* 17/15; where bruyne the bere laye and *rested hym* 17/28.

Verbs of motion are in the same case. *Went* is found in the old language with a Pronoun in the Accusative (s. Koch, 15) probably according to the primitive meaning of *wendan*; the other Verbs of motion, generally with the Dative (Mätzn. II, 70,71.)

Wenden: bellyn sayd fare wel reynart and *wente hym* forth to the court 52/3.

Haste: haste you and come late us goo 50/22. Cf 92/8, 100/5, 110/8. Caxton also uses *haste* as an Intransitive, s. above.

Turn: tho *torned hym* reynart toward his castel 15/25, but intransitively, 17/8: come and *torne* agayn thow false theef.

A last category which deserves our attention are the verbs expressing states or actions of the mind. In these, as in the preceding, the Reflexive Pronoun can no longer be considered as the *object* of the action.

The same construction was extremely developed in O. Fr. and Darmesteter explains the pronoun as denoting ‚the subjective and spontaneous character of the Action' (Darm., Synt., p. 99). French, no doubt, exerted some influence in this respect. However we have seen that the freedom of forming Reflexive Verbs from Intransitives existed in O. E. for Verbs of rest and of motion, and Wülfing (op. cit. II, p. 17) gives O. E. instances of the reflexive use of *ondraedan*, *sceamian*, &c. It is not necessary therefore to regard this freedom, with Darmesteter, as a ‚peculiar trait' Romance languages.

Fere: I *fere me* that I shal not conne wel goo thyder 13/7.

Repente: ye ought sore *repent you* 28/39. Cf 110/9, etc. For the same use of *fear* and *repent* in N. E. see Mätzn. 71.

Feel: I *fele me* the lenger the werse 90/9.

Felan, intransitive in O. E.

Verbs which do not belong to these categories:

Feed: fedeth hym 83/13.

Fedan although originally intransitive was very early used transitively, S. Koch, 10.

Endeavour: ... bad hym ... that he solde *endevore hym* to seche hem 93/21.

This is perhaps the earliest use of the word, which arose out of phrases like ‚to do one's *dever*' (Fr. *devoir*) — to put a man to his dever &c. (S. Skeat. Etym. Dict.).

Understande: I *understande me* on this werke 70/10.

Du: Ick verstae me des wercks 90,7, — both probably from the Fr. *s'entendre à*. I found no instance of a similar use of O. E. *understandan*.

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN REFLEXIVE AND PASSIVE VERBS.

There is a close relation of sense between the Passive and the Reflexive; the subject of a reflexive verb is represented as *suffering* the action which he himself originates. Hence, in Latin, passive verbs were first ‚deponents', and in Mod. languages, we still say with a passive sense: *ce terrain se creuse difficilement* ‚Das versteht sich von selbst'. (*)

It is therefore not surprising to find a Verb used with the same sense both in the Passive and in the Reflexive form. The title of the 12th chapter of *Reynard* is: *how reynard shroef hym* but in the *Table*, the title is given as follows: *how the foxe was shryven to grymbert.* Cf:

I have forgoten on thyng the laste tyme that I *was shreven* to you 61/39, syth *I was* laste *shryven* I have done many shrewde tornes 61/22.

As a consequence of the wide use of Transitive Verbs in the Reflexive, we find the same verbs sometimes used alone, *viz.* without pronoun, in a passive

(*) Instances from Vercoullie, Inleiding tot de Taalkunde, p. 85.

sense. A typical Mod. instance is *this book sells well.* In Reynard I mention:

Renew : . . . as ofte as it cometh to myn mynde alle myn angre and hate that I have to the(e) *reneweth* 111/13.

(Du: so vernyewet mij alle mijn leet 146,2.)

Overthrow . . . it made hym to *overthrowe* alle in a swowne 111/18.

(Du: hi stortede in onmachten 147,7.)

Note also the Passive Participle of *bethink* in *I am sore bethought* 38/28.

Passive. The unparalleled freedom of English, to convert a complement in the Dative or even a prepositional complement into the Subject of a passive construction was not yet very developed in Caxton. But Kellner goes too far in saying that the peculiarity is not to be met with in Caxton's works, — a want the more strange that instances of the passive construction are found as early as the 13th century, and which Kellner attributes to a sort of ‚negative influence of the French' (Kellner, LV).

In fact, there *are* instances of the Mod. use in Reynard. For instances of the impersonal construction of the passive I refer to the chapter on Impersonal Verbs.

Of course we find the Passive use of Intransitive Verbs: ‚he was a *compted* for a fool' 65/11. A frequent case is the conversion into the passive of a construction with cognate Accusative:

Ye shal go quite of alle the *complayntes* that *ben complayned* on you 24/25.

The same process is applied to Intransitives:

Help, (originally with Dative or Genitive).

Hongre and nede to save the lyf seketh narowly *to be holpen* 77/10.

Complain: ye be good for to walke wyth, courtoys, frendly and not *complayned on* of ony beest 48/11. And therefore am I *complayned on* of the evyl shrewys 66/30.

Bere an hond; — (see, for a discussion of this phrase, Einenk. Streifz. Prepositions, p. 182); like *bere wytnesse* (Fr. *porter* témoignage) seems to have meant originally to carry in the hand the material proofs of an offence, and was followed by a personal object with *to*. Here, this object is turned into a subject:

beholde dere eme thus am *I born an honde* 69/26, thus am I accused, charged (Du: aldus ben ic bedraghen ende belast).

Speak of: it shal be longe spoken of after 56/23).

Do with a prepositional personal object =

I wolde not counseylle that he sholde be *done to* more than right 57/33. (Du: *dat men hem boven recht yet dede*: active construction 74,4.)

Note also the conversion into the passive of a construction with *accus. cum infinitiv.:* I was *suffred* to speke 73/18.

More instances will be found under the treatment of the Infinitive.

Speed:

how brunne the bere was sped of Reynart the foxe 12/1.

Intransitive Verb, see 17/24; 19/13.

Set by:

the pope is so sore olde that he is but *lytil sette by* 71/3.

The active expression means ‚to care little for'. Cf. sette ye so lytyl by hony 13/19 also 47/4, 6/8. From the transitive *set* we have the passive expressions *it is sette subtyly* 4/17, = put, written, and (there) was a day *sette*, = appointed 6/3.

Storven means ‚dead' in the next passage and we might at first night suppose on influence of the Du. But M. E. *steorven* (O. E. *steorfan*) was transit. as as well intransit. S. Stratmann, *in voce* steorven.

Ysegrim was almost storven for hunger 62/4. (Du: Ysegrym was binae van groten honger . . . ghestorven 79,29).

Tense.

PRESENT.

Caxton sometimes uses the Present in order to describe vividly some scene of tumult and agitation *(Praesens historicum)*:

Lantfert cam to hym wyth the preest and forth with alle the parysshe and began to smyte and stryke sore upon his heed and visage he receyved there many a sore stroke, every man beware hierby, who *hath* harme and scathe, every man *wil* be ther at and put more to 16/11.

PERFECT.

The use of the Perfect was somewhat wider than now. In some cases it is justifiable and probably serves to indicate some shade of temporal meaning better than the Imperfect could do it:

Whan we *were comen* in to myn hows and ermelyn my wyf understood that I sholde goo over see she fyl doun in a swoun 50/33.

See my lorde these grete woundes that he *hath made* to me wyth hys sharpe longe nayles 55/9.

Sometimes it interchanges, in the same sentence, with the Imperfect, without any very clear difference in meaning:

(The same in Du: so is bruyn voerden coninc ghecomen ende sprac 24,12).

With suche flateryng wordes *hath* reynard thise two *flatred* that they wente wyth hym 48/17.

(Dutch, likewise: So *heeft* reynaer dese twee *versot* dat si . . . gingen 62,1).

Now *is* brune gone on his waye toward the foxe 12/5. (Du: Nu *is* Br. derwart *ghereyst*).

Past Perfect Tense (Pluperfect).

A similar interchange may be observed between the Past Perfect tense and the Perfect or the Imperfect:

And as reynart *was gon* out to seche his mete he espyed them and caught hem and *was comen* home with hem 58/37. The Du. has here an interchange between Perfect and Imperfect: ‚greepse . . . ende is daermede te huys ghecomen' 75,24.

Herken ferther how my fadre and tybert the catte *wende* to gydre and *had sworn* by their trouthe that for love ne hate they shold not departe 87/11.

(Du: Hoert voert hoe dat myn vader ende tybert eens te gader ghingen ende hadden . . . ghesworen . . . 114,18.)

Whan the kynge of alle beestis had assemblid alle his court ther was none of them alle but that he *had complayned* sore on Reynard the foxe 5/20.

The pluperfect would be much more to the point, if the sentence began in some such manner as ‚When the king had dismissed the assembly, &c'. The Dutch instead of ‚had complained', more appositely has ‚had to complain' which Caxton perhaps did not understand (Du: . . . en was dan nyemant . . . *hi en had* over reynaert . . . te claghen).

He spack not one worde but . . . dubbed me in the necke bytwene myn Eeris that *I had wende* I shold have loste my heed 54/37.

The Dutch has the Imperfect: dubbede . . . dat ic meende . . . 70,14.

Some of the passages quoted presents a close analogy with the Dutch and seem to point to Du. influence. We must bear in mind, however, that these constructions are not restricted to *Reynard*, nor even to Caxton. S. Kellner, p.p. LVI, LVII, § 22, and Mätzner, II, p. 79, for other instances.

Past Tense after Verbs like: Think, suppose, desire, &c.

After Verbs of supposition, intention, hope, a tense ‚anterior' to that of the principal Verb can still now be used in order to denote that the action was contrary to the hope, desire, &c. The distinction thus implied is very consistently observed by our author:

... whiche *supposed* wel that the foxe *sholde not have begyled* hym 12/5 (i. e. that, in fact, the fox *did* beguile him); — *wende* that noman *should have comen* 17/21; ... I had *wende* I *sholde have loste* my heed 54/37; I had *supposed* that ye *had iaped* therwyth 13/26; he hoped that the bere *had be* dede 17/23.

The hore wyth her longe legge had an yron foot I *wende* the nayles therof *had ben* lettres 63/13; I *wende* hit *had be* a mermoyse 98/20; he ... cryde so lowde that alle they were aferde, they had *wende* that he *had been* wood 116/32.

In the three first instances, the tense employed is a Future, but a Past tense of the Future (Mätzner's zweites Futur der Vergangenheit) corresponding to the French Past tense of the so-called Conditional:

‚should have come': ‚should come' = Pluperfect of Future: Imperfect of Future.

The same phenomenon occurs after other Verbs than *hope*, *think*, e.g. after a Verb meaning accuse, calumniate:

I peased the kynge with grete lesyngis and *bare hym on honde* that the wulf and the bere *wold have betrayed* hym and *wolde have slayn* hym 61/28.

After *judge:* and was Judged that reygnart *sholde* come and *have excused* hym hierof and *have sworen* — that he was not gylty 6/4.

In the following example a Verb of *thinking* may be supplied:

(My fader) ... hadde gotten many a souldyour that shold the next somer *have comen* to helpe bruyn 39/18 (i. e. ‚that he supposed to have come').

For the use of the Perfect Infinitive, under the same conditions, see *Infinitive*.

IMPERFECT AND PLUPERFECT especially in Conditional Sentences:

‚*Hadde* we an halter which were mete for his necke ... we shold sone make an ende'. Reyn. 32/12.

I encroach here partly on the Syntax of moods, namely of the Subjunctive mood, in order to show a mistake of Mätzner's. The author considers simple (viz. not periphrastic) forms of the Subjunctive, which have dwindled into the forms of the Indicative, as if they really were Indicatives, — which is of course unjustifiable in a work on *historical* grammar.

The transition from a temporal meaning into a modal signification is a fact which may be observed, for instance, when we use the Future for an Imperative. Likewise an action which is *past* may be conceived in some respects, as an action which is *not real*. In some such instance as ‚*I supposed that I should have gone*', which means that in reality, I have *not* gone three points of time are compared: the time of the supposition, the time of the *going*, the time when the writer is speaking or writing. — ‚I shold have gone' with regard to the initial supposition, expresses relative futurity, but from the point of view of the speaker it expresses an action which is not only past, but unfulfilled, so that if we compare it *now* to the initial act, it ends by having, in relation with this, the meaning of improbability, impossibility.

Mätzner in his § on the Imperfect in conditional sentences (II, 97,5 and 100,3) seems to extend these facts somewhat indiscriminately to various cases. In the instances from the older periods of the language (‚Ic *were* onnseli if ic *lernede*, &c.,) the Imperfect expresses uncertainty, not *quia* Imperfect but *quia* Subjunctive. We want an old example with *waes* instead

of *were*. Among the modern instances we have, with the Indicative; ‚If vanity *was* a fit thing . . . I might &c.'; *was* is certainly an Indicative, since the simple form of the Subjunctive has not died out, but is represented by *were*; — but then the *condition* is indicated by the conjunction *if*. In ‚*Had* I a doughter worthy of such a husband, he shold have such a wife' (Sheridan), *had* may be an obscured subjunctive (*hadde*); moreover, the condition is here indicated by the inversion *had I*. The same may be said of the optative clauses which Mätzner examines in the same place und explains by an ellipsis: ‚O! *had* we some bright little isle of our own! (T. Moore) = O! If we had . . .' But the optative meaning is one of the first functions of the Subjunctive and there is perhaps not much reason to separate instances like this from those given in the chapter on the Subjunctive in Principal sentences, p. 121 of Mätzner's Grammar. It seems in this passage of the work, as if the author considered as the only simple Imperfect Subjunctive existing, the Subjunctive of *to be*. But is it not evident that the word *put* in the following instance, — consider it as you like from the point of view of *form*, — must be regarded as a Subjunctive from the point of view of Syntax: ‚yf ye *put* me to deth hit were but a smal vengeance' 30/37?

The German *würde* in *Ich würde gehen* is an Imperfect of the Subjunctive and it is natural to believe that the English *would* in *I would go* was originally the same.

Speaking of *should* and *would* in the periphrastic tenses formed with these auxiliaries, Mätzner says: ‚Insofern *should* und *would* an sich betrachtet Praeterita sind, werden sie hier gleich den hypotetisch verwen-

deten Präteriten behandelt und *wirken als konjunctive'* (II, p.p. 102, 103). — I believe that *should* and *would were* Subjunctives and find mereover that simple Subjunctives, without *should* and *would* were much more numerous than at present. As to their use, we must first of all draw a distinction between two different things which are often designated by the same term, ‚conditional sentence', namely, the principal sentence which expresses the result of a condition, — and the clause which expresses the condition itself. Note that in the first case, the condition on which the action depends may be undetermined or non-expressed so that the preterite or plusquamperfect sometimes becomes simply a means of stating something *in a reserved way.* The *uncertainty* of the facts is indicated partly indeed, according to Mätzner's view by the *tense,* but chiefly, in my opinion, by the *mood.*

Instances of simple Subjunctive:

They leep and ronne al that they myghte as they that *were* aferd of theyr lyf 87/15. — Comparative clause with simple subjunctive. — Dutch: si liepen ... als die geen die hoers selfs lijfs beducht waren 114,24.

I *wold* wel dere Eme that it *had* not *happed* yow. But that it *had fallen* on me, so that ye ther wyth *had ben plesyd* 109/29,31. Consecutive clause and substantive clause, with simple Subjunctive; we must evidently recognize also in *I wold* the Subjunctive = Optative. Dutch: ick woude u des nye *ghesciet en ware* lieve oem ende dattet mi *ghesciet ware,* op dat ghi daer mede te vreden *waert.* (Imperf. instead of Plpf.) 144,25.

After *to have lever:* They be lyke the wulf that had lever the kinge *had deyed* than he wolde gyve hym his lyver 94/14.

The Du. Text has differently: Si lieten hem eer sterven. Si slachten den wolf die den coninc node mitter lever lanen woude ... 119, *in fine.*

The wulf sayd, I had lever that they *were* hanged er I that *saide* 101/11.

Du: Ick *hadde* liever dat mense *hinghe* eer dat ick dat gheseit *hadde* 133,12.

Conditional Sentences (first sense):

I wote wel yf ye wolde ye *myght* now slee me but and ye so done had, *what had ye wonne* 110/2. (The Dutch, differently, has the Perfect: wat *hebdi* dan *gewonnen* 145,12).

Had I not ben in the censures of the chyrch I *had* wythoute taryenge *have comen*.

We have here a remarkable instance of a parasitic *have* which is probably due to a contamination between the simple form & the periphrastic form, — *would* and *should have comen*. The same pleonasm occurs in another passage: ‚*had* tybert the catte *have ben* there' 46/12. This particularity is not found in the corresponding Dutch passages.

Subjunctive in dubitative statements, (the condition being quite undetermined and not expressed):

Hit were good that right and Justyse were don 7/17.

It *were* hye tyde that ye were at your reste 60/38.

Du: dat *waer* hoghe tijt dat ghi u ruste waert 78,8.

Note also *I would* in the instances above and *had* in *I had lever*, which is not an Imperf. Indicat. but rather a Subjunctive in a conditional sense.

Conditional clause (second sense):

The condition is generally expressed by *if* or *and* = *if*; it is sometimes difficult to say whether the verb that follows is in the Indicative or in the Subjunctive. The condition is also expressed without Conjunction, by an inversion of the Subject, in the interrogative form. The verb may be in the Indicative and even in the Present:

deceyveth me the foxe so have I ylle lerned my cases 11/34;

come ye not or *brynge I* yow not with me... it shal coste you your lyf 12/17;

Can he answere and excuse hym I shal gladly late hym goo quyte 80/19.

In these sentences the condition is expressed nearly in the form of an independant sentence, of a question, to which the next words are the answer. But when the Verb is in the Preterite or Pluperfect, the subordination is felt. We have already seen two cases 46/12 and 68/11 (*had* I *ben* in the censures...). I add the following:

Hadde we an halter which were mete for his necke... we shold sone make an end 32/13.

Du: ‚*Hadden* wi een strop die... te passe waer...' without a principal Verb (41,23).

Wene ye syr kynge, *hadde* I knowen my self gylty... that I wold have comen 68/1.

Du: hadde ick mi... brokich ghekent, ick en waer niet ghecomen 87,18.

Note that in the second Verb Caxton has the perephrastic, whereas the Du. has the simple form.

He sprange to the cony and caught hym by the heed and shold have slayn hym, *had I* not reskowen hym 69/12.

Du: *had ic* dat niet benomen 88/34. Cp. 13/1, 35/35, 110/19.

The analogy with the Du. text proves little more than that the English of the time gave Caxton the possibility of a close translation. Mätzner, III, p. 503, treats of this interrogative form of the conditional clause and produces instances from all the periods of the language up to Macaulay. In O. E. however the form with *gif* was much more usual (S. Mätzn. II, 98, note). See also the instances given in the § discussed and some stray instances in Mätzner's Grammar, II, p.p. 103, 104, 107.

SEQUENCE OF TENSES.

Derogations from the *consecutio temporum* are not rare; often this is a consequence of the confusion between direct and indirect speech:

Isegrym commanded anon and bodde his kyn and frendes. that they shold see to reynart that he escaped not ffor he *is* so wyly and fals 32/30.

Who so had in his eyen ony smarte or sorenes or in his body ony swellyng... yf he stryked his stone on the place where the gryef *is* he *shal* anon be hole 82/20.

Have ye also payd hym for the hony combes..., yf ye *have* not it *were* a grete shame 18/5.

MOOD.

Subjunctive.

In the chapter on Tense, speaking of the Imperfect and Pluperfect in Conditional sentences, I have had occasion to show that the simple form of the Imperf. Subjunctive, instead of the periphrastic form is still very frequent in Caxton. Here are some additional instances:

yf I refused I were a fool 104/24; *yf ye nede* anythyng... I wold alway be redy 117/8; *yf I wente* wyth yow men sholde arette vilonye unto my crowne 43/25; *though thou promysedest* to me alle the world of fyn rede gold I wold not late thee escape 110/21; but yf I wyste how to escape *I wente* hardyly in 98/15.

Instances of the Pluperfect:

I thought truly *it had ben* an evyl chaunge for to have a foule stynkynge theef 38/6; yf his formest feet had been hole the foxe *had not endured* so longe 107/16.

For the use of the simple instead of the compound form of Subjunct. in Shakesp. s. Abbott, § 361.

The decay of the Subjunctive mood is a characteristic feature of Modern English. The modern tendency was already at work in Caxton; nevertheless, the use of the Subjunctive was wider than at present. The Subj. was found alone, not depending on a Conjunction, in sentences expressing wish:

God gyve you good morrow 46/19; god be wyth you 47/23; we have both the Conjunction *that* and the optative in: goo and drowne them *that evyl mote they fare* 100/23; cf. 91/42;

in concessive sentences:

He shold have victorye *were* it by nyght or by daye 82/34; I pray and comande alle them that holde of me *be* they here or wheresomever they *be* 56/33; — who so *have* envye and spyte of an others welfare... it shold be wel behoefful 86/40; I shal bydwynge and subdue the *haddest thou* sworn the contrarye 86/8;

in conditional sentences, see the chapter on Tense.

Subjunctive after a Conjunction; — in the ‚indirect speech' :

saye to hym *that he come* 19/17; thenne myght I saye I *were* not happy 30/32; cf. Wene ye *that I were a fool* 14/37;

after *if:* who shal blame Reynart yf he *have* taken fro a theef stolen good hit is reson... 8/30; yf bruyns crowne *be* blody what is that to me 30/25; yf ony *saie* on me ony thyng 93/2; yf the kyng *hunte* after me 50/16; for yf he *see* hym ones he shal doo as he wyl 81/40.

after *though*: though he *be* greet he has no herte 103/38; though he *were* to fore fell he is now chaunged otherwise than he was 40/23.

but the Indicative also occurs: yf I durste I wolde pay you of mercy *though* my hurte and sorow *is* playsant to you 32/36.

after *til:* we shal hunte hym til he *be* take 85/40;

after *er*: al his lesynges shal not a vaylle hym er he *departe* fro me 94/17;

in consecutive sentences, e. g. after *so that*, ete:

Can he that subtylte *in suche wyse that he stamer* not in his wordes... 64/39.

Infinitive.

FORM. — SIMPLE AND PREPOSITIONAL INFINITIVE.

For the use or omission of *to* before the Infinitive, I refer to the following paragraphs where attention will be paid to this question in each particular case.

It will be found that, on the whole, the use of the simple Infinitive was much wider than now.

On the other hand, in the struggle between the two forms, the preposition *to* was sometimes introduced where we should now omit it.

Here are some characteristic instances:

Therefore he is wyse that can in his angre *mesure* hymself and not be overhasty and *to see* wel what may falle or happe afterward to hym 110/4;

(He)... thought that he was so grete with the king that he myght *helpe* and *further* his frendes and *hyndre* his enemyes and also *to doo* what he wolde wythout he shold be blamed 119/4;

that they *may* ther by the better use and folowe vertue and to eschewe synne and vyces 119/31.

Note that in these instances, *to* is used when there is some interval between *can*, *may*, and the depending Infinitive, and serves, as it seems, to recall the dependency.

„FOR TO".

As the Infinitive with *to* (which was the upshot of the O. E. dative form in *anne*, *enne*, governed by the Preposition *to*) gradually became equivalent to the simple form (O. E. Nominative form in *an*, *en*) it was

natural enough to emphasize *to* by means of some other preposition, in order to denote *aim*, *purpose*. This is the value of *for to* in the following instances:

The king sent to his lordes... *for to* walke 10/29, &c. &c. Instances abound.

But the notion of *purpose* was again obscured in *for to* which became equivalent to the simple *to*:

I thought truly it had ben an evyl change *for to have* a foule stynkyng theef *and to refuse* a noble... lyon 38/17.

I knowe alle that is *for to be done* 70/16; he had *for to answere* to many a fowle feet 29/19; I hope *for to be* yet his best frende 33/26; he had wende *for to have wonne* 85/1; henge it on his necke and chargyd hym not *for to loke* in the male 51/23; menaced *for to take* your lyfe 20/11; commanded... his folke *for to be* here 59/18; I counseylled ysegrym the wulf *for to leve* his religion 69/33; prayde us *for to gyve* yow part of our wynning 91/33; brynge the kinge wyth lesynges *for to holde* wyth hym 33/22.

Instances with Infinitive after Adjectives:

Ye be good *for to walke* wyth, courtoys, frendly, &c 48/10;

Is it... wonder yf I be mevyd and angry *for to lose* suche maner Iewellis 84/33.

Instances of *for to* after Substantives:

A letter *for to rede* 10/14: a staf... *for to playe* 16/20; I wyl be the messager *for to goo* and paye hym 18/6. a venture *for to be* loste 25/8; he gate leve *for to have* as moche of the beeres skyn... as a foot longe 45/5.

After Substantives the idea of *aim*, is more or less perceptible. There is no reason to say, as Kellner does, that *for to* is used especially after Nouns.

What is the origin of this use? Einenkel, p. 140, shows the parallelism between *for*, *for to* and O. Fr. *por*, *por a*. *For habbe* (Layamon) corresponds to *por gaaigner*. There must have been a certain amount of Fr. influence in the extension of this use.

But *for to* was equally found in O. E. Mätzn. III, 58, and refers to a similar use of *for at* in Swedish and Danish. — Moreover, *for* etymologically corresponds to Gothic, *faur*, O. N. *fyrn*, &c. *For to* still lingered in the Elizabethan period:

‚Forbid the sea *for to* obey the moon'. Winter Tale I, 2, 427.

It survives even now as a vulgarism. Cf. Storm, *Engl. Phil.*, 782, 783.

TENSE. — PAST INFINITIVE.

After Verbs like *wene*, *suppose*, *hope*, *intend* the Past Inf. is used in order to show that the *hope*, *intention*, &c., were not realised. S. Mätzner III, 64 and 66, for older instances. For Shakesp., Abbott, 360.

He *supposed* never *to have gone* his feet were so sore 16/6. The serpent supposed *to have gone* thorugh but he was caught in a snare 75/15. The first Verb may be in the Present: I *desire* no better but to *have wonne* the felde 112/3. (*)

There are exceptions to this use:

the wulf *wende* wel *to be* sure of hym 106/39. *Wenest* thou thus *to deceyve* me 110/24. Exceptions also in Chaucer, s. Einenkel 237, 257.

After *ben like* the Past Inf. is used with a similar meaning:

We *weren lyke* both therby *to have lost* our lyves 95/9; he was in better caas than it *was lyke to have be* 94/7.

(*) Stoffel, in *Taalstudie*, Vol. IX has devoted an important article to the idiom ‚I intended to have written' His view, that the so-called Perfect Infinitive of non-realisation is essentially an elliptical conditional sentence, with the conditional clause left out, is developed with great ingenuity. Let us summarize this theory: when *he had slain his brother* = er hätte seinen Bruder getödtet came for the sake of clearness to be replaced by *he wold have slain his brother*, another ambiguity naturally arose, *wold* had both a formal and a notional meaning; instead of *wolde have* being considered as a mere formal substitute for *hadde*, people looked upon *wold* as the Past tense of *willen* = ‚vouloir'. The phrase began to be regarded as made up of *he wolde* + *have slain* instead *he wolde have* + *slain*, and as ‚todten wollen'. It was natural that later on, Past tenses of other Verbs of wishing, intending, supposing, likelihood, duty, &c should be substituted for *wolde*.

Analogous cases:

And with that he (russel) tasted for *to have taken* somwhat, the cony smote russel . . . and he fyl doun . . . 69/8. — The Past tense is used, because russel had no time to take anything.

Note that the same use accounts for the formation of the periphrastic Past Tense of the Future (French conditional) with *would*. ‚He would have gone' = he would . . . but he has *not* gone. In some cases *would* still retains its independent value of *be willing*: I wolde not for a thousand marke have goon wyth hym' 20/24.

Voice of the Infinitive.

Constructions with Inf. Passive are not yet fully developed in Caxton. The Active is often used with a Passive sense. See, hereafter, Adverbial Infinitive and *Accus. cum Inf.*)

On the other hand, there are instances of the modern construction: points *to be merkyd* 4/3; thynke ye it best *to be done* 40/29.

In O. Fr. likewise we often find the construction: *por son pere a vengier*.

But O. E. did not, either, draw a distinction between the voices of the Infinitive. Alfred, who had the continual temptation of imitating his Latin originals still renders *baptizandus* by *to gefultianne*, *educandus* by *to laeranne*, *misit eum ordinandum* by *sende hine to hadiganne*.

Wülfing gives instances of the Passive, — always without Preposition —, after *biddan*, *bebeodan*. But some of thise might be explained as personal constructions, with omission of *þaet* after *bebead*, e. g. ‚Erconbyrht bebead desfolgyld *beon to worpene*' (= ut E. idola *destrui* praeceperit).

The Lat. construction which became frequent in the 14th century entirely supplanted the other in the 16th.

FUNCTIONS of INFINITIVE. — INFINITIVE SUBJECT.

The Inf. is generally preceded by *to*.

The Predicate may be a Substantive or an Adjective. Phrases with a Subst. and simple Inf., e. g. *passe over is an ease*, which are common in Chaucer (Einenk. 229) are very rare in Caxton. Instances with an Adj. or a Pple used adjectively: ‚But alway *to misdoo* and trespace and not *to amende* hym that is *evyl* and a devely *lyf*' 73/31.

Is it not evyl *don to sende* to a lorde his servaunts hede 72/26. (Du: is dit niet *misdaen* 93,12).

In connection with Impersonal Verbs, Caxton also uses *to*, whereas the simple Inf. was the rule in Chaucer (Einenkel 231):

plese: plese it you *to here* our complaynte 9/33;
lyst: hym lusted no lenger to smyte the bere 16/38;
hurte: what hurted the foxe *to speke* fayr 20/15.

INFINITIVE AS OBJECT.

The Inf. is found principally after the following Verbs:

Dare, the simple Inf is the rule in Caxton as well as in Chaucer:

In the next passage the form with *to* is found besides the other:

I *dar* wel *come* openly in the lyghte and *to answere* to alle the complayntes that ony man can saye on me 68/6.

In N. E. usage is still divided. As a rule, *to* is used after *dare* = *challenge*, or when *dare* is itself in the Infinitive.

Can = be able, is used with simple Inf.:

shal never *conne doo* that swete playe and game 23/3.

Owe, more frequently with *to* than without *to*. It was the reverse in Chaucer. S. Einenkel, 233. — *To* is left out in 47/20, 57/9, 75/7, 80/9, 89/14.

Weten:

ye were wyse ynowh to goo where ye *wyste to wynne* ony good 105/5.

Nede, with *to*:

ye *nede* wel *to loke* aboute yow and *to beware* of hym 24/6.

Have and *give* deserve special notice.

Have is first found with the Inf. alone (prepositional form):

...and wheresoever he hath *to doo* 65/2. Du: waer he doende is 83,21.

This construction reminds us of the Fr. *avoir à faire*, the same which originated the Fr. future tense (Vulg. Lat. *amare habeo*). Nevertheless the construction was probably genuine. See Mätzn. III, 32, 33.

Have may be moreover accompanied by an Accusative which seems then to be governed partly by *have* and partly by the Infinitive:

What have I *to do* wyth the wulf 96/21. What have I *to wryte* of thise mysdedis; I *have ynowh to doo* with myne owne self. — Cf. O. E. *Ic habbe* þonne mete *to healdanne* (Mätzn. *i. loc. cit.*).

The use of *give* is quite parallel to this:

yf ye have wel eten he shal *geve* you *better to drynke* 15/23. — Cf. O. E. He *sealdon* Ceolvulfe Myrcna rice *to healdanne*, Sax. Chronicle, 874.

Simple Infinitive after Verbs of motion. —

He made hym *goo sytte* bytwene his legges 7/5 (Du: hy deden voer hem *gaan sitten*, 9/6).

I trowe veryly that ye wyl *go synge* complayn 18/12 (Du: Ic meen ghi zeker wilt *gaan singhen* die compleet 23,30).

Tho saide he late us *go ete* this good fatte hare 49/7. (Du: nu *gae* wi *eten*, 62, *in fine*).

Yf ye come rede and be a clerk ye may *come see* and rede it 62/10. (The Du. construction is different).

In spite of the analogy of the corresponding Du. passages we need not here assume a foreign influence. A similar use is frequent in Chaucer, s Einenkel, 230. I find the following instance in O. E.: ‚hic þá to þam symle *sittan eodon*' (quoted by Wülfing, Engl. Stud. XIX, 1, 118).

The Infinitive in these and analogous cases is often said to express the aim of the motion.

In fact the idea of motion is often slightly obscured and the Inf. denotes an action which is not subsequent to, but simultaneous with the motion. In *go synge*, *go sytte*, the two Verbs are after all but a round about way of expressing a single action. I would therefore look on the two Infinitives as coordinate to each other, in an assyndetical way, rather than as subordinate.

At the present time there is a tendency to represent as being coordinate, actions which are subordinate in fact, in such colloquial phrases as *go and fetch my hat*, *come and see me*, which we may contrast with the French *allez chercher*, *venez me voir*. Likewise we find in *Reynard:*

thynke ye not that he hym self *wente and laboured* that bothe your brethren were hanged 31/8. (Du: dat hi selve mede ghinc ende bracht daer toe dat men u broederen hinc 41,17); I *wente* tho *and pleyde* with the lambes by cause I herde hem gladly blete 34/23 (Du: differently: Ick ghinck mitten lammeren spelen 44,18); Tho *wente* my wyf *and herkened* 55/25. (Du: differently: doe ghinck my wyfe *staan lusteren* 71,14); whiche alle *camen and stoden* by reynard the foxe 79/35. (Du: simply: sijn ghecomen).

When the Verb of motion is itself dependent on a

Verb of perception, such as *see* &c., the Verb following the Infinitive is in the Pres. Participle:

he sawe from ferre *come fleyng* on of seynt Martyns byrdes 19/37. (Du: sach . . . comen vlieghen 25,23).

I sawe my fader *come rennyng* out of an hole 38/25. (Du: sach . . . comen lopen 40,14).

Note also the meaning of *come* in the next passages:

1.) The wulf . . . threwe the foxe al plat under hym whiche *cam* hym evyl *to passe* 108/19.

The sense of motion, of *coming* is here weakened. Moreover there seems to be a mixture of two standing phrases: *1) come to passe* (S. Mätzn. III, 38. Infl. of Du. ‚te pas komen' is out of the question, the Du. has here symply ‚dat hem misviel' 143,3), and *2) come evyl*: cf. *This market cam to hym evyl* 16/5. (Du: quam hem tot groten leyde); —

also with *become:* that leep *becam yl* to the preest and to his grete sham 22/32; the passage is interesting and shows that at the bottom of the sense of *suiting* in the phrases: *it becomes you well,* &c., there is a sense of motion;

2.) yf I maye *come to speke* with hym 24/31.

The context shows that this does not exactly mean *come* (= *go*) *in order to speak*, but that the phrase must rather be compared with:

If I may *come to speche* 59/37 or with: she is *comen to her deth* 11/20 i. e. she has dyed. Here again *come* is a sort of auxiliary, expressing a gradual progression in the action.

Come = *happen* in: that *came by* me too 6/31. (Not Dutch: dat was overmits mi 8,27).

Omission of Infinitive of the verbs of motion, after Auxiliaries and quasi-Auxiliaries:

He could not go and yet he *muste* nedes *forth* 18/21. (Not so in Du.). I thought I am therin I *muste* ther *thurgh* 98/26 (Du: ic moet doer).

I wote *wherto* I *shal* 33/2. (Not in Du.).

What somme ever I founde that I *myght over*, I slowe alle 34/33. (Not in Du.).

I *wil* over the see into the holy lande 43/18. — Du. Ende van romen wil ic voert over meer . . . 55,31.

Cf. Shakespeare: ‚I must to Coventry'. Rich. II, 1, 2, 56.

INFINITIVE USED AS AN ADVERBIAL ADJUNCT.

The Inf. when used to denote purpose, consequence, manner, &c. is preceded by *to* or *for to*. So already in Chaucer (Einenk. 240, &c.) Instances with *for to* have been given under the treatment of this Preposition. It is worth noticing also that the simple *to* seems in some cases to have retained its original value of an independent Preposition and is used where we should now insist more closely on the notion of *aim* by means of some such word as *in order to*:

(The kynge) gadred hys counseyl *to wyte* what they wolde advyse hym 23/36; noman proferd hym hand ne foot *to helpe* hym 72/35; I am chosen to reward thee . . . 106/14. Cf 40/20. —

Also after Verbs of motion: who that wyl go thurgh the world this *to here* and that other *to see* and that other *to telle* 63/39.

The Subject of the Infinitive need not be the same as that of the finite Verb: I shal sende for you to come to me 113/10. Cf. 43/27.

The Infinitive is found, with the sense of a future participle after *be*:

it *is to drede* that he cam not so merily again 11/37. And she durste wel speke where as it *to doo was* 73/7. But and they come where as *it is to doo* (= something is to be done, Du: Mer als si comen daert aan den noot gaet 100,27). I muste saye what my gryef is . . . *that is to wete* that ye have done a foule and shameful trespaas 72/19.

This use is old and reminds us of the O. E. gerund: Us *is* éac *to vitenne* þaet waeren sume gedwolmen (A. S. Homelies, 110, quoted by Mätzn. III, 37). It is not necessary to adduce the O. Fr. *estre a* (Einenk.) ‚*he wist not watto do*' 17/22 and 68/12 seems to be a condensed expression formed on the mode of *what is to do*.

Note in all these instances the Active form with a passive sense, and see, above, Voice of the Infinitive.

The Inf. is also found after Adjectives. These may be accompanied by a quantitative word, *to* (too), *ynough*, *so*:

ye were wyse ynowh *to goo* by nyght wythout lanterne 105/14; ye be too wyse so to doo 110/10; How were ye so hardy to dare do me do suche a shame 72/25.

The insertion of *as* before the Inf. after *so* is never found in E. M. E. Instances from Shakespeare, Fielding with simple *to* are given by Mätzner, III, 49.

In the cases mentioned last the notion of *consequence* is still conspicuous. In the following the Inf. cannot be explained in the same way:

after Adjectives meaning: agreable, favourable, or the contrary: *good to digeste, good to doo* 65/16;

ferdful to loke on 56/18, *fowle to loke on* 104/35.

In *I am ashamed to telle* 94/35, the king had hem *sorowful to departe* 47/10, the Inf. expresses the *cause* of the feeling indicated by the Adjective.

Parallels may be found in O. E. for these constructions. S. Mätzn. III, 43, 44.

Note a striking instance with a Past Participle + *as to*, which is probably due to influence of the Du: text:

I am oftymes rored and prycked in my conscience as to love god above all thynge 64/3. (Du: Ick werde wel dicke in mynre consciencien ghewecket *als* gode boven al te minnen 82,9).

The Inf. is found after Substantives. Sometimes an

Adjective like *fit, good for* may be supplied after the Noun and the consecutive meaning of the Inf. is still felt:

I am no byrde *to be locked* ne take by chaf 110/25.

Note the passive construction (the Du. has the Active: ... gheen voghel *diemen met kave locken mach* 146,5).

The next instance is a similar case but seems to be literally translated from the Du:

This fayr grete pryvelage wylle the kynge graunte to you ever *to holde* of hym 53/30,31; that is to say: ever to be held of him. (Du: Dese scone grote vriheden die wil u die coninc gheven *ewelic van hem te houden* 68,33).

In other cases, the Infinitive has about the value of a Latin gerund in-*di*:

How lawhe thise false subtil shrewis that gyve *counseyl to make* thise lesynges 65/17.

What *nede* have ye to *shryve* you 65/36. What *nede* had *I to do* that 68/4; gyve me *leve* to goo fro thee 86/4 god ... geve you *grace* long to lyve 117/13. We have *cause* to be sorry 82/27.

The Infinitive is used to denote *manner* and is then equivalent to a N. E. gerund with *in*:

it is sette subtylly lyke as ye shal see in redyng of it and not *ones to rede it* (= in reading it once) ffor a man shal not wyth ones over redyng fynde the ryghte understandyng ne comprise it wel 4/18 &c. This, however, is one of those ambiguous sentences of Caxton's where a word may be looked upon, so to speak, ‚from more than one side' (See *Style*). We may connect *ones to rede it* with a following Verb which is elided: ‚shal cause it wel to be understande'; *to rede* would then be Subject. We *may* also consider *to rede* as an Inf. absolute. But the Du. text on which the sentence seems to be closely modelled, renders our first explanation probable (Du: mer dicwijl *over te lesen* soe ist wel te verstaen 6,18).

Who otherwyse wil now use the world than devyse (= by devising) a lesyng ... &c. he is not ronne away fro his

maister 64/35. — he doth to hym self no worshyp thus *to sklaundre* his wyfe 8/19. Ye misdoo *to saye* to me ony suche wordes 29/10.

We ne rested nyght ne day *to bere* and *carye* away . . . 39/4.

We have good cause to be sorry to *lese* such a Iewel 82/27.

In all these instance the Du. has a different construction.

We are reminded of the French a + Inf. in such proverbs as: ‚à blanchir un nègre, on perd son savon . . . but the construction may probably be traced back to the O. E. gerund with *to*. In Shakespeare we still find:

To fright you methinks I am too savage. Macb. (v, 2, 70 (= *in frighting*).

INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE.

This use is rare in Caxton. Kellner says he has found only two instances in his works (Kellner, LXVIII) ‚*Reynard*' has here again been disregarded by this author. Nevertheless I found only one case in point: (*)

And whyle he rubbeth his eyen take your avantage and smyte and byte hym. Tere as ye may most hurte hym, *and alleway to hytte hym* wyth your tayll ful of pysse in his visage and that shal make hym so woo that the shal not wyte where he is . . . 103/34. —

The Infinitive is here equivalent for the sense to an Imperative so that we might at first sight surmise Du. influence (Cf. the use of Infin. for Imperative in Du: *zwijgen!* = silence! etc). But the Du. text has a different construction. (viz. the Imperative: *doet hem* . . . ete 136,15.)

ACCUSATIVE WITH INFINITIVE AS OBJECT OF THE SENTENCE.

After Verbs of sensation: *see*, *hear*, *feel*:

(*) The next passage is a dubious case:

I ranne away he shoof the table from hym and folewed me cryeng kylle and slee hym, *I to goo and they after* and many moo cam after which alle thought to hurte me 26/39.

The situation, being a scene of tumult, certainly admits of an Infin. absolute On the other hand, it is possible that *to* in *to goo* is but an adverbial *to*, opposed to *after*, as *voer* is opposed to *nae* in the elliptic construction of the corresponding Du. passage: ‚Ic voer ende mi nae' 35, 1. For the position of adverbial *to* before the Verb I found a parallel case: Tho begonne they placebo domino with the verses that *to longen* 11/13.

So sawe they comen doun the hylle to hem chauntecler the cock 9/14.

In some of these instances the Present Participle would to-day be preferred in order to show the subject ‚in the act' of doing what is expressed by the Verb.

As a rule, the simple Inf. is used.

So in Chaucer, — in O. E. (Einenk. 256; Mätzn. III, 15).

After Verbs of prayer and command:

bid: and bad hym saye 36/34; and bad her kepe it secrete 37/17.

As a rule the simple Inf. is used, but there are instances with *to*:

bad me *to tarye* for hym 62/31; bad hym *to make* not to moche sorowe 93/21.

O. E. *biddan* always with simple Inf., Mätzn. III, 10. In Chaucer, the use is the same as in Caxton, s. Einenkel, 253.

Pray: and they prayde the kynge to graunte it hym 34/17.

Generally with *to*, but the simple Inf. is found: And prayde me *goo* to the mare 62/5.

After Verbs of permission: *suffer*, &c.:

God suffreth somme to have worship and thanke of the labouris... of other men 51/32. I suffred hym to drawe it out hole wythout hurtyng 88/37 (the wolf speaking of the head of the crane); Cf 36/16, 110/35;

In the instances we have been considering before this it was possible to regard the Accusative and the Infinitive as depending each isolately on the Personal Verb. This becomes more difficult with a Verb of permission which does not admit of a direct personal object. Still more so when the Inf. is in the Passive: ...,ereswyn must suffre her shois to be plucked of' 45/28 and the difficulty increases when the Subject of the Inf. is the same as that of the finite Verb: suffre hymself to be taken 86/11; suffre yourself... to be deceyvid.

After Verbs of causation, *let*, *do*, *make*, *cause*.

Let often seems to form a sort of periphrastic Imperative: *Late* everyman know hymself 73/26.

With Inf. passive: late hym *be done to* as to a free man 23/30 late hym be sore punysshed 57/23.

O. E. *laetan* was of a wide use in the sense of cause, make. See Mätzn. III, 13.

Do.

With simple Infinitive:

the tresour that I shal *do hym* have 40/17. (Not Du.).

Do: cause, with simple Infinitive was often found in O. E., till it was supplanted by the M. E. *make.* Mätzn. III, 12.

With *to*:

Ysegrym has *don hym* to *understande* that ye be a theef 59/13. (Du: Ys. heeft hem doen verstaen 76,6).

Cf. O. E. gedyde *to vitanne* (Oros. 110); — Do hym wel to *iwiten* (Layamon).

Mätzner explains the Pronoun here as a Dative. But in the following instances the Objective case preceding (or following) the Infinitive cannot be explained in this way, and the Infinitive has a passive meaning:

the lyon ... holde an open Court at stade whiche he *dyde to knowe* over alle in his lande 5/12. (Du: dede ... te weten 7,6).

We may suppose an ellipsis of the person who is ‚caused to do', viz. ‚whyche' he dyde (people) to knowe' (Cf. the Fr. expressions *faire faire* un habit, *faire tuer* le veau gras).

Similar instances, with simple Infinitive:

And also he hath *do laaden* torches 59/10. (Du. toertsen laten laden 76,3).

The kinge *dyde do crye* this feste over alle in that lande 54/12. (Du: dede dese feest te weten, 69,17).

The kynge *dyde do ordeyne* so moche mete that everych fond ynough 54/16. (Du. differently: hadde speysen reyden laten 69,21).

In the two last instances the second *do* represents the pleonastic Verb which was once frequent in several Germanic tongues and which we have kept in nega-

tive, interrogative and emphatic sentences (S. Mätzn. II, 62 and our chapter on Auxiliary Verbs).

The Infinitive may of course have the passive form.

And she dyde alle his heer fro the heed to the tayl *be shorn* off 103/13.

Such an instance probably gives us a cue for the explanation of cases where *do* is followed by the Past Pple instead of the expected Infinitive:

he laboureth al that he can ayenst me to the kynge for to *do* me *behanged* 69/40.

In the same way, we find ‚do proclaimed':

And I saye yow syth my lorde the kynge hath *do proclamed* his pees he never thoughte to hurte ony man 9/1.

The case has escaped the attention of Mätzner. Yet it is not isolated. Two instances are quoted from *Aymon* by Kellner (p. LXIV) and several others from the *Paston Letters* (Blume, *Spr. der Past. Lett.*, p. 36).

How are we to interpret such cases? A first resource is to consider *do* as a factitive = ‚render' and to assimilate the cases to those enumerated by Mätzner under the Past Participle III, 87, e. g.: ‚My two sisters *got* their fortunes *paid*' (Hook). But there is no instance with *do*, and it has to be proved that *do* can have this meaning. On the contrary, we have cases with *do* + Passive Inf.:

In order to explain the unknown by the known, it is better to suppose that there is in the passages in point, as well as in such instances as *suffre it unavengyd* 6/13, *suffre this unpunysshyd* 7/12, an ellipsis of *to be*.

Make is common with the prepositional, less common with the simple Infinitive. The Du. does not seem to have any influence on the choice of either construction.

The wordes ... *made* hym so moche *to lawhe* that he coude not wel stande 14/10. I *made* her *leep* in a grenne 26/4.

With the Passive:

The kynge ... was wrothe and *made* the wulf and the bere anon *to be arrestyd* 44/39.

With the Active in a Passive sense:

I *made bynde* his feet to the belle rope 26/13. Du: Ic deede beyde sijn voeten aan die cloclyne *doen* 33,32.

Make replaces *do* and is found chiefly with simple Inf. in E. M. E. (Layamon, s. Mätzn. III, 12). This use was probably modelled on that of O. Fr. *fere*. In Piers Plowman, the Proportion between preposition and simple Inf. after make is about 15:10 (Wandschneider, *Synt. des Verbs bei Langley*, 1887, p. 63). In Chaucer the proportion is about equal between the two uses (Einenkel, 236).

Make, in the sense of *cause*, espec. with *to* is on the whole more frequent than in Pres. English.

Cause: the nede of hongre may *cause* a man to breke his oth 75/34.

Put = cause: But me whom men *putten to laboure to bere* and *drawe* 86/23 (Du: mi dien men ten arbeide dwinghet). Also in Chaucer. (Einenkel, 255, refers to the Fr. *mettre*.

Bring, frequent with the sense of cause, get. — Inst. with *for to*: Money ... *bryngeth* false wytnes ayenst true peple *for to gete* money 118/10.

Teche: ... *teche* men *see* thurgh their fingres 65/20.

In all these cases it is still possible in some degree to consider the Accus. and the Inf. both separately. In the next category they form a whole and the construction is quite similar to the Latin *Accus. cum Infinitivo*.

After Verbs of knowledge, appreciation, affirmation, the *Acc. cum Infinitiv.* is rare in Caxton.

There are very few instances of this use in O. E. (Mätzn. III. 29). A few may be found in Chaucer (Einenk. 237). It became more frequent in the 15th century, espec. in the works of learned writers, and in translations. Reginald Pecock is said to have first introduced it in original writings (Krickau, *Der Acc. c. Inf.*, p. 17). But, on the whole, the construction belongs to a later period, and reached its full development in the Elizabethan age. Bacon makes a large use of it (S. Rohs, *op. cit.* p.p. 23, 26). It must be regarded as a latinism, as in France also, the frequency of this use corresponds with the period of the greatest Latin influence, the 15th and 16th centuries (Darmesteter, p. 141).

In many of the cases enumerated above, the personal construction alternates with the Infinitive one. Caxton even frequently uses a preposition with *that* where we should to-day prefer the Infinitive, as a convenient way of compressing the sentence. This applies in particular to *final clauses* (see, below, under *helpe*, &c.).

The personal construction is found instead of an Infin. used adverbially:

after Adjectives: I am *sory that* I lyve thus longe 32/22; ye may be *glad that* ye have suche wyse children 60/35;

after Nouns: fynde the *way that* ye goo wyth us to the place 43/1; knoweth he wel the *way how* he may aryse 117/28;

after Verbs: ye doo grete wronge *that* ye so lye 76/20; instead of the Inf.-Subject of Impersonal Verbs: this becometh you wel *that* ye thus doo 32/21;

instead of Inf.-Object: yf thou *promyse* to men *that* thou wilt not envenyme me... 75/22;

instead of the Acc. c. Inf., after *make*: *made hym that hym thoughte that* his eyen shold goo out 107/19;

after *counseyle:* I counseylle you reynard *that* ye put you your self out of this curse 43/28;

after *bid:* Isegrym commanded anon and *badde* his kyn and frendes *that* they solde see to reynart 32/29.

after *pray: prayde* hym *that* he wold doo so wel as to tell them . . .

after *command:* I commande . . . that they make them redy to the warre 58/8;

after *help:* (he) helped hym *how that* he myghte come out 69/18; I helpe hym *that* he wente fro hym 69/13.

ACCUSATIVE WITH INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT OF THE SENTENCE.

‚No wonder is a lewid man to ruste' (Chaucer, Prol. 502).

This construction was very rare in O. E. s. Mätzn. III, 22. In Chaucer, on the contrary, it is common with Impersonal Verbs and Impersonal phrases formed with *to be* and an Adjective, a Noun or an Adverb (*it is good, it is wonder, it is in vain*). S. Einenkel, 250–252. The construction is a Latinism which was introduced either directly or through the French. But older, genuine constructions probably paved the way for this. Take a sentence like *no need was hym beseech*, where *hym* was a Dative ‚commodi' governed by the Predicate *need*: as soon as the Dative relation became obscured, in the general process of the loss of case-endings, the word being looked upon as a Nominative or an Accusative may have been mentally disconnected from the Predicate and considered as the Subject of the Infinitive. Another possibility was a confusion by similarity of form, between an Optative and an Infinitive without *to* in some such instance as: ‚No wonder is (that) a lewid man ruste'.

Traces of the construction with Acc. + Inf. Subject may be found in Shakespeare, s. Abbott, § 354.

In *Reynard*, the personal construction is preferred: *It is ryght that* a pylgrym shold alway thynke and pray for them that doo hym good 45/14. *It was harde that* I escaped out of pryson 49/32.

The modern practice is to place *for* before the Subject of the Infinitive: ‚It was hard *for me to escape*' &c.

There are some instances of an analogous kind in *Reynard*, ‚they shal be good *for you to keep* your feet hool' 45/21; ‚thise Iewels wer over good and precious *for me to kepe and have*" 89/14 are not precisely cases in point, but show an analogy with personal constructions such as: ‚it is good for me to kepe thise Iewels'. Note also the use of *for* in the two next instances: I shal *sende for yow to come* 113/10. That must be shewed *to the kyng for to have knowleche* therof 9/16. (No Du. influence).

Now what is the origin of Mod. *for* with Acc. c. Inf.? Abbott explains this use by a ‚transposition' of *for* in a sentence like:

it spedith a man for to deye for the peple (Wycliffe). The Preposition was, according to him, shifted before the *Substantive* and related to it. (Shakesp. Gramm. p. 255).

Stoffel shows, in a chapter of his *Studies* which is devoted to this Subject, that this theory does not rest on good proofs, and maintains that *for* before Accus. c. Inf. is not the old ‚purpose-for' but a new *for* which introduces in the sentence an analytic *Dative*. This is probably the right interpretation of *for* but I think we cannot safely accept Stoffel's next statement that the Dative was here ‚a substitute for the *original* Accusative' (*op. cit.* 67).

The author considers the following sentence from the A. S. Gospels: *gód is ús hér to bécome* as an early instance of acc. c. Inf. Subject. Finding a similar construction in Gothic, he goes so far as to say that

‚the Acc. c. Inf. as the logical subject of a quasi-Impersonal Verb must once have been as common in the Germanic tongues as we find it to have been in the classical languages' (p. 55).

Admitting that there are instances of this construction in Gothic we should expect the author to make it certain that they were not inspired by a foreign model. The Gothic passage corresponding to the O. E. quotation above is *god ist unsis her wisan* : I leave aside the doubt about *unsis* and admit it to be an accusative, but I question whether it was not brought about by the Greek text καλόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε εἶναι (S. Bosworth & Waring, Parallel Gospels, p. 334).

Stoffel's argument concerning the O. E. passage in point is derived from the Latin text: *bonum est nos hic esse.* But here another doubt arises: why should the O. E. translation be absolutely accurate, when Luther himself translates *hier ist gut sein* and the A. S. Gospels of Mark and Luke have *gód is þaet we hér béon* (Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 210, 234). The assumption of an Acc. c. Inf. in O. E. needs to be proved; on the contrary, the construction of the Dative ‚commodi' in O. E. is an established fact. (See Wülfing, Synt. Alfreds, I p. 69, &c). Are we not allowed to suppose that the O. E. translator replaced a foreign idiom by a more familiar one?

A statement of such importance as that of Stoffel's above-mentioned ought to be supported by strong arguments. The author has hardly discharged the *onus probandi* by adducing *two* O. E. examples, one of which is dubious whereas the other may be a Latinism (*op. cit.* p. 54). Another contention of the same author is that the original Accusative continued to be felt as such throughout the M. E. period, till

in the end it was changed into a Dative (p.p. 54, 57). The arguments produced are *three* instances with pronominal subjects of the Infinitive, — *two* of which are said to be ‚unmistakeable':

now it is right ‚me' to procede

and

It is shame ‚you' to bete me.

Although these Pronouns look like *Accusatives*, we can have no absolute certitude as to the case, in presence, say of Jespersen's researches on case - shiftings in the Pronouns (S. Jespersen, Progress in Language, p. 182).

It is therefore much more natural to suppose that people had *no* definite notion about the case of the Subject of the Infinitive, which was regarded sometimes as an Accusative, sometimes as a Nominative. This view is conformable to the historical facts and rendered probable by the decay of inflections. It is the best way of accounting for the Shakespearian use of the *Nominative + Inf. Subject*, which Stoffel has not overlooked, (p. 50). Moreover the transition of an indefinite case into a Dative is more easy to conceive than the substitution of a Dative for an Accusative. Stoffel has seen the difficulty and admits that the *conditio sine quâ non* for this substitution is, that the predicate of the principal sentence should be compatible with a complement in the Dative, that it should be some such expression as *is fair*, *is good*, *is necessary*, &c. Of course, the author adds, *for* afterwards lost its dative force and was introduced into sentences of a different kind, but this happened later: Quite right, but if the *conditio sine quâ non* was that the Predicate should admit of a Dative complement, is it not infinitely probable that *in the origin*, this

Predicate really *was* accompanied by a Dative and *not* by an Accusative?

To recapitulate: we have seen that the use of the Infinitive, — which was in many cases originally imitated from the Latin, was later exploited by the tendency towards shortness of expression which is a feature of N. E. But neither of these causes were already at work in Caxton. Moreover the construction of *Acc. cum Inf.-Subject* which was common in Chaucer was then falling into disuse; so that, on the whole, Caxton's use of the Infinitive was not very extensive.

ACCUSATIVE WITH OMITTED INFINITIVE.

After *think*, *me thinketh*:

me thought *it* right good 34/26.

After *know*:

I *knowe* our soverain lord the kyng of so hye byrthe, 38/5.

After *suffer*:

er I shold *suffre* you in this sorow 70/10.

After *here*:

I have herde ofte *named* parys london akon and coleyn 42/3. (Ick heb dicke hoeren noemen...).

Active or Present Participle.

1. Present Participle used as a Predicate.

In conjunction with the Verb to be:

... Yf ye wille be to me friendly and helpyng ayenst myn enemys in the kynges court 14/2; hit is not *fytting* to youre crowne to byleve thise false deceyvars 30/1; it were not fyttyng to me 96/14.

The Pple may form with *to be* a periphrase in order to express the continuity of the action: in the mene w(h)ylle that ysegrym *was* thus *spekyng* ... 111/4.

In conjunction with verbs of motion and of rest:

The relation of meaning between the two verbs is variable. Instead of the Pple simply expressing a manner of going, standing &c., the first Verb sometimes loses its proper value and is more or less absorbed in the second; compare the use of the Infinitive in ‚ye wyl goo synge complyn'; compare also O. Fr. *aller querant, aller tremblant.* (Einenkel, 272).

There is even an instance where the participle, like an Infinitive, expresses the aim of the action:

(Reynard) *wente* in the mydel of the place *stondyng* to fore noble the kynge and sayde ... 29/33. (In Du: simply *ghinck staen*). Sprong out of the hool and *wente rollyng* and *wentlyng* towards the kyngs court 23/19; as I *cam rennyng* by his borugh at maleperduys he stode byfore his dore 54/31. I *wente dolynge* on the heeth and wist not what to doo for sorowe 68/11,12. (Du: ghinck dolen 87,30) *wente saying* 10/26; *wente talking* 28/31; *cam walkyng* 65/ in fine; 69/17, 62/1 laye groning 99/35.

Mätzner (III, p. 69) quotes instances of *cuman, féran* + Pres. Pple in O. E. But instances with *gon, wen-*

den do not occur and it is probable that the French phrases already mentioned had some influence.

In conjunction with the subject or the object of the sentence, and expressing the simultaneousness of two actions:

I complayne to yow ... *prayeng* you t(o) avenge it 18/35; he ... folewed me *cryeng* 56/21; — shold have vyctorie ... also ferre as he behelde it *fastyng* 82/34; — who that sayde devoutly this prayer *fastyng* shal not ... be overcomen 103/2.

Notice that the Participle is often preceded by *all*: sayde to the bere *all lawhyng* 14/30 (Du: *al lachende* 19,7). Isegrym wente *al laughing* to the dore ward 27/32 (Du: *al lachende* 35,25); many a yonglyng departed from thens *al wepyng* 31/30. (Du: *al screyende* 41,5); wente al *wepyng* unto ... the kynge 111/25. (Du: *al screyende* 147,12); thus *al chydyng* he cam to the ryver 17/34.

This is the only instance where the Du. text has not *all* (*dus sceldenne ende clagende* 23,14). We may look at the case as one of Dutch influence without *direct* imitation (for other such cases s. Muller & Logeman's *Reynaert die Vos*, Inleid. p. LII). I could not find any traces of this frequentative *all* in Chaucer, Langland, nor in the Paston Letters. — Compare the French use of *tout, tout en* before the Gerund.

Present Participle in a predicative relation with the object of verbs of sensation, perception, affirmation and factitive verbs.

Ye shal *fynde* there two birchen trees *standyng* alther next the pytte 41/28.

The construction remains the same in the passive: he was *seen coming* 18/26; I was *made* connyng 73/15.

The Pple in this function interchanges with the Infinitive (see above). In O. E. the construction was not so frequent and rather confined to the verbs of sensation (Mätzn. II, 72).

2. Appositional use of the Pres. Pple

a) equivalent to an Adjective Clause:

Ther is none *lyving* unther the sonne . . . 41/7.

b) equivalent to an Adverbial Clause:

The Pple often in N. E. replaces a temporal, conditional, causal or concessive clause. Likewise in French we find the Pple where the German would rather introduce a proposition by means of *da*, *indem*. Mätzner (III, 73), says that this use existed in O. E. It was chiefly developed however, at a late period of the language and I found no instances of it in Caxton.

3. Absolute use of the Pres. Pple.

This construction, where the Subject of the Pres. Pple is different from that of the principal verb, does not seem to have been in favour with Caxton, any more than was the absolute use of the Past Pple. Instances will be found in a following paragraph on the prepositional use of the Pple.

4. Adjectival or Attributive use.

Cases where the Pres. Pple is used strictly as an Adjective are not frequent: *flatteryng wordes* 31/24, 30/10; *lying tales* 110/30; a *conyng man* 89/12, &c.

5. Pres. Pple changing into Preposition.

He hath ben advocate for the bysshop of cameryk IX yere *during* 68/16; ye shall alle your lyf *during* truste and believe me 96/20.

From this absolute use of the Pple it was easy to pass to a prepositional use, when the Pple was placed *before* the Noun it referred to. This formation was modelled on the French. Likewise, *notwithstanding* = Fr. *non obstant*. (S. Einenkel, 277).

Instances of the last word used as a *Conjunction:*

... was not the better *Notwithstandyng* he had wonnen the flycche of bacon with grete drede 8/7;

... and helde hym faste *notwithstanding* that he bledde 108/16.

The origin of the Preposition may also be a Pple used as an apposition, the connection of which with the word it refers to becomes looser, so that in the end its concrete meaning disappears and it simply denotes an abstract relation with a following word governed by it. So were formed: *saving*, *touching*, *considering*. (S. Einenk., 276):

How the kyng spack *touching* this complaynt 11/1. All they that desyred the kynges frendshyp were there *savyng* reynard the foxe 54/20. Late me thenne make amendis *accordyng* to the lawe 71/16. He is *passyng* reed on his heed 18/30. (Du: onmaten rood).

Ther is rosel a *passing* fayr theef 25/14.

Passing is used a Preposition by Chaucer: ‚he syngeth and daunceth passing ony man'.

The Verbal Noun.

Let it be remembered that a confusion of form brought about a confusion of functions between the O. E. Pres. Pple in *ende* (later *inde*, *inge*) and the O. E. abstract Nouns in — *ung* (*eng*, *ing*). The process was furthered by the O. E. use of Adverbs in *-unga*, *-enga*, *-inga* (Einenkel) and by the analogy of the French Pple in *ant* which did duty for a true Pple as well as for a Gerund (*chantant* representing both Lat. *cantantem* and Lat. *cantandi*, *cantando*, *cantandum*, s. Darmesteter p. 166).

The Verbal is really a Substantive in:

Tho helped the bere nether *flateryng* ne *chydyng* 15/5. Ther as *fyghtyng* is we ben not woned to be aferd 79/2. We shal never be hurte by thou are ne *lyghtnyng*.

As a noun, it may take the sign of the *Plural:*

lesynges, 33/22, 61/27, 64/21, 64/23. (Du: loghenen &c); *tydings* 59/4. (Du: iet *nyewes*), 61/8. (Not Du.), *lettynges*, impediments 65/29. (Du: wederstoet); *lernyngs* 119/34. (Du: leren).

Cf. O. E. *léasung*, *lettung*, *leornung*; *tidinge* occurs in O. E. Homelies (s. Stratmann) and is of Scandinavian origin.

It may be preceded *by the Article*: a russhing 97/ *in fine*, the beginning 36/23, the dawning 20/19, the plucking 88/29, the renning 106/4, the connyng 104/1, the scattering 108/24, the avaunting (boasting) 118/22;

by the Article and an Adjective: a greter lesyng 57/37, an evyl connyng 65/23, the uncortoys departing 92/26, the thirde warnyng 19/20, all the offrynge 22/35.

by a Possessive my connyng 56/16, &c your steling and roving 25/32, their taking 60/34, his complayning 69/37;

by *a Possessive and an Adjective:* his swete smellyng 83/17, his lowde crying 91/29.

by Adjectives: longe fasting 69/35;

by *Demonstratives, Indefinite, Negative Adjectives*: this spekyng, such manner waylling 58/36; such manner talkyng 65/38; ne desyreth *no* wynnynge 9/8.

In all the cases, it may be followed by an analytic Genitive with *of:*

the *ringing of* the belle 26/13 *the shynyng of the* stone 82/15 (Subjective genitive); the *makyng of* the pees 54/7. (Objective genitive).

It may be followed by other Prepositions and the verbal value is then better felt:

He coude not lete *the lokyng after* the polayll 29/6. He muste leve *renniyng after* hym 106/4.

It is even found with the Article, as a Noun, and at the same time with a *direct object* after it:

The wythholdyng you fro it can doo yow no good 24/14.

This construction is found in Shakesp. (S. Abbott, §§ 93 and 373).

The Verbal Noun, in the cases enumerated, may be moreover preceded by a Preposition and have a gerundial sense:

I gaf counseyl *of the makyng of* them (viz. the *lettres*) 52/16; His one hand by whiche he deffended hym sterte *in the fallyng* into ysegryms throte . . . 108/21.

A Preposition is still more frequent with the Verbal used alone, without Article:

with craft and *conning* 19/31; *with flatteryng* 30/30; *with* grete *facing* and *bracing* 115/6; *with ones over redyng* 4/18 (Du: met een overlesen); *without lettyng* 21/24, *wythout myssing* 62/39.

Tho trembled the foxe *by dissymlying* as he had ben aferd 36/9.

He complayned to me that he lyvyd so straytly as *in* longe *fastyng* and many thingis redyng and syngyng that

he coude not endure it (Du. van langhe te vasten, 89,24, makes it probable that *fastyng* is here gerund, and longe, adverb).

(The foxe) was . . . angry and saide *In chydyng* to lantfert 17/30 (gerund).

There are instances of the Verbal Noun preceded by in, without article and followed by *of*:

And this booke is maad for rede and prouffyte of alle good folke. As fer as they in *redynge or heeryng of it* shal mowe understande etc. . . . 4/9. (Dutch: . . . op dat si daer in *lesende* sellen mogen verstaen, &c. 6/9).

ffor it is sette subtylly lyke as ye shal see *in redyng of* it 4/17. (Du: ghelijck als ghi al lesende vernemen sult 6,17).

The quene had pyte on hym and prayde the kyng to have mercy on hym *in eschewing* (= avoiding) *of* more harme 36/11. (The Du. has the Infin.: om meerre scade te scutten 46/22).

In connection with these passages, I must point out a mistake of some importance in Kellner's *Introduction to Blanchardyn*. Speaking of the various uses of the Verbal Noun, the author says (op. cit. p. LXXV and LXXVI):

‚The Verbal Noun is used as a Verb: then it derives from the Present Participle.

‚1. Governed by the Preposition *in*'.

‚We now use *in* in connection with the Verbal Noun, where in O. E. the simple Participle was preferred . . . I suppose that *in*, imitated from the French, was grafted upon the old Participle, so that it kept its verbal function. Therefore it was not followed by *of* even in the earliest periods of its use'. (There follow instances from Maundeville).

‚Caxton very often drops *in* . . . But even when it precedes the Verbal Noun, it is not followed by *of*':

If Dr. Kellner had not in his study on ‚Caxton's

Syntax', disregarded one of the works of Caxton, viz. *Reynard*, he could not have made the last statement, as there are two cases in point in the very first page of the ‚Storie' and as our references have shown, these facts are not due to an accidental Dutch influence.

But the author goes so far as to declare that the construction *in* + Verbal Noun + *of* was not found, even in the earliest period of the use of the Verbal. In reply to this, I refer to Einenkel *Streifzüge*, p. 269, where a sufficient number of instances in point from Chaucer, will be found. As our notion of the facts is different, our conclusion cannot be the same as Dr. Kellner's. It is by no means certain that the Verbal is here an old Present Participle ‚which has kept its verbal function'. Nor is it necessary to suppose that *in* was imitated from the French. For, in the first place, the French gerund was, until the 17th century, often used without the Preposition *en*: ‚Assez est miels que morions *combattant*, Rol. 1475; and, secondly, when the Preposition *was* used, the French gerund was followed by an Object in the Accusative case, never by a Genitive, with ‚*de*'.

A similar construction occurs after other Prepositions than *in*:

... leye it doun upon the grounde and springe thre tymes ther over *without bowyng of* your legges and without stomblyng 28/15, &c. (Du: sonder u been te bughen 36,31). al this I passe over *for losyng of* tyme 85/19, &c. (Not i. Du.)

The same use is found in Shakespeare: *By winning* only *of* Sicilia. North. Plut., 171 (Abbott, § 373).

The following case from Reynard is somewhat different:

I wyl goo for you to the holy grave and shal gete pardon and *wynnyng for* your cloistre *of* all the chyrches that ben in holy lande 108/37.

Probably *of* here means *from*. It is interesting nevertheless to find the Verb used as a Direct Object, parallelly with a Noun, — and followed by adverbial determinants. Caxton seems not fully to have understood the Du. text: ‚ende verwerven in *cloester winninghe* van allen kerken die int heylighe lant sijn', 143,20. For the sense of *cloesterwinninghe*, see a note in Muller and Logeman's *Reynaert* p. 200.

Caxton does not use in Reynard, before the Verbal Noun the Preposition *a* ≐ *in*, *on*, which we find in *a two* 49/5, *a colde* 42/15, *a pylgrimage* 37/19.

It is sometimes difficult to decide whether we are in presence of a Noun or of a Gerund, as the following instance will make clear:

I made hym to lose his lyf ffor the foule kaytif said to me that he hym self was of the counseyl of *the lettres making* that were in the male 81/4,5. (Du: ... dat hij den raet daer toe gegeven had dat die brieven ghescreven waeren diemen in die male ... vant).

It is probable that *making* is a Verb, and *letters* its direct object. The preposition of the Object was the rule in O. French with the Gerund, and influenced the English (Cf. in Mod. Fr. *à mon corps défendant*, *argent comptant*, *chemin faisant* and cf. ‚his body diffendyng' which Kellner quotes from *Aymon* and is probably wrong in assimilating to O. E. compounds like *domweorthung*, (Kelln., LXXV).

On the other hand the article may refer, not to *letters* alone, but to ‚letters making' *letters* being then either the first part of a compound, or a ‚Saxon Genitive'. (Cf. *lordes courtes* 115/16). The Relative that follows is no absolute objection for we have seen a case of *that* referring to a word in the synthetic genitive, which was separated from the Relative by the governing word (See *Reyn.*, 26/20 & cf. Shakesp. *Hamlet* V, I, 85: ... as if it were Cains jawbone that did the first murder).

Dwellyng place, *offryng candel*, in the following ex-

amples are probably to be regarded as compound words, the first part of which is an original Abstract Noun:

Reynard had many a *dwellyng place* 12/9. (Du: woeninghe, p. 15). The preest toke to locken his wyf an *offryng candel* and badde her lyght it... 22/24. (Du: een offer kaerse 29,10); clyme up hastily and bynde the corde faste to the lynde and make a *rydyng knotte* or a strope 33/35. (Du: knoept aan die linde ende maket een strop 43,20).

Quite parallel to *offryng candel*, I find in O. E. *offringe-hláfas*, Shewbread. It is possible however that *dwellyng*, *offring*, *ryding* were no longer *felt* as Verbal Nouns, but rather as Pres. Pples, the connection of which to the word referred to was a loose one, i. e. that the action predicated by the Participle did not belong to the Subject, but to some other word that was in the mind.

This is the case in such French expressions as: *couleur voyante*, *école payante*, *rue passante*, *café chantant* which had perhaps some influence on English.

Passive or Past Participle.

FORM.

Past Participles of Romance origin which have kept their original form and not been anglicised by the ending-*ed* are not very frequent in *Reynard*. Besides, it is very difficult to decide whether a word is to be regarded as a pure Participle or as a participial Adjective. An interesting case is the Pple *agravate*: ‚ye reysed and accompanyed your self with a cursyd and persone *agravate*' 43/23, — a latinism which is said by Skeat (*Principles*, II, 155) to make here its first appearance in the language.

VOICE.

The Passive Pple may be used with an Active meaning or at least, without regard to voice.

Woned, wont = ‚*assuetus*';

in: *ye have not be woned so to doo* 66/37 the word is still a Verb conjugated in the Passive. In the following passages it becomes an Adjective = ‚having the habit': many a good flitche of bacon wherin I was *wonte* to fyl my bely 26/22. Cf. *woned* 42/28, 113/25, wont 76/24.

I trowe ye be wel *remembryd* therof 76/33.

I am brought in to a grete hevynes *undeservid* and not gylty 68/26. — The analogy of ‚not gylty' and the Du. text (Ic ben overdient ende sonder scout in dien groten swaren last 88,9) prove that the word refers to the Subject and means ‚without deserving'.

Wyth a *dissymylyd* and sorowful speche saide the foxe... 81/29.

... *forhongred* houndes 114/18. (Du: *verhongert* 150,23 but Kellner, LXXIII, shows that the same use was very frequent

with compound verbs beginning with *for*: *forgiet*, *forsworen*, &c.).

Thenne was he *aferd* to lese his hand 108/21 (= feared; *aferd*, P. Pple from *aferen*, O. E. *afaeran* is distinct from *affrayen*, O. Fr. *effraier*. S. Skeat, Etym. Dict.)

The participial suffix *ed* in this manner takes the value of-*able*: They be myghty and *doubted* 79/35 (= redoubtable, from doubt, fear).

In O. Fr. we find *juré*, *forsjuré*, *appris* (learned) used in a similar way; in vulgar Mod. Fr. ‚*bu*' = drunk. So in Latin *juratus*, *potus*, *pransus*, *cœnatus*. But the O. E. already possessed *druncen*, *forsworen*, *forlogen*, *forworht*, &c. (S. Einenkel, 280), so that all O. Fr. influence could do, was to infuse more life into genuine expressions.

The fact that the Pple could be derived from *Intransitive* as well as from Transitive Verbs, in order to form the periphrastic tenses, may have given rise to this use.

Remember, moreover, that in the light of comparative grammar the Past Pple, weak or strong, is an original Adjective in-*to* or in-*onó*, — indifferent to voice.

Functions.

Adjectival and Attributive. Some of the instances just mentioned show that Past Pples easily pass into Adjectives (*wont*, *dissymylyd*, *forhongred*). The transition happens, when, instead of considering an *action*, as entirely accomplished, we look at the *result*, as still existing and pertaining to a person or a thing. The distinction cannot always be exactly drawn. In the following instances the verbial value of the Pple is still more or less felt:

ye lawhed for ye were wel *plesyd* 92/15. Isegrym . . . was to hymward angry and *dysplesyd* . . . I fele my self . . . *encombred* in my stomak, therfore ete I gladly lyght mete 59/32.

Notice further the Past Pples of Transitive Verbs derived from Intransitives by means of the prefix *be*, *by*:

bebled 17/35; *beswette* 59/3; *bypyssyd*; *byslabbed*, *byclagged* (Du: *beslabbed*, but *byclagged* is English. S. Muller & Logeman, *Reynaert*, Inleid. LI).

Wo begon 107/5, may be regarded as a single Adjective-expression from *bigan*, O. E. *bigangen*, to surround;

bydwongen (Du. word, s. Muller & Logeman, LI) is a Verb in: the frosshis . . . complayned that they had none lorde ne were not *bydwongen* 37/29. — But the following instance shows that the same Pple may be joined as an *Attribute* to a Noun: a *bydwongen* oth or oth sworn for force was none oth 50/12.

The close analogy between the Adjective and the Past Pple accounts for the formation of derived words in-*ed* which cannot be traced directly to a Verb, e. g. words beginning with *un*: *untold*, *unavysed* 64/29, or may even be derived from Substantives or whole phrases:

Oure *welwyllyd* frendship can not hurte you 80/5. (Not so in Du: onse *willige* vrientscappe).

Though he were al naked in a felde agayn an hondred armed men ge shold be *wel herted* and escape fro them 82/40 (Du: *edel haerdich*); *shood* 62/37, *easid* 69/4, *hongred* 68/32 are probably true Past Pples.

(S. Stratmann, M. E. Dict. i. v.: *schoin*, *aisien*, *hungren*).

Appositional. The appositive use of a Past Pple, referring to the Subject or the Object of a sentence, and being equivalent in sense to an Adjectival clause or an Adverbial clause was developed in M. E. on Latin, French and Italian models (S. Einenk. 238). A Pple with the Prefix *un* often replaces a negative clause.

The Pple refers to the Subject:

The lesyng oftymes cometh *unavysed* 64/29. (Du: ‚valt *onversiens*', an adverb).

A pot may goo so longe to the water that at the laste it cometh *to broken* home 67/17. (Not Du.).

And therupon was leyde a marble stone *polysshed* as clere as ony glas 11/16. (Du: has an Adjective-Clause: een pollyst marmersteen . . . die also claer was . . .).

The Pple refers to the Object:

brought to me a lettre for to rede *sealed* wyth the kynges seal 10/4. All that I now leve *untolde* 6/12. He cam to the ryver where he fonde the beere sore *wounded, bebled* and right seke 17/35;

. . . suffre the foxe to saye *unberisped* what that he wolde 36/15.

Predicative.

The Pass. Pple may be used as a Predicate not only after *to be* but after other Verbs which have no complete sense by themselves, such as *seem, stand, become.*

Ther *ben* many fygures playes *founden* that never were done ne happed 119/29;

there *leyth* the tresour unther *dolven* 41/30. (Du: daer leit die schat onder begraven, — but cf. O. E. *Valdend licgaþ dreame bidrorene,* Cod. Exon. 291,8 and other O. E. instances i. Mätzn. III, 86).

Instances with *stand* are frequent: I *stonde a cursed* and am in the popes banne 43/15.

To these instances I add some remarkable cases which are in all probality due to the influence of the Du. text.

Ryght as the cony had made an ende of his complaynt *cam* in corbant the roek flowen in the place . . . 55/17. Dutch: . . . doe *quam* daer corbant die roek *ghevloghen* . . . 71,4).

In ‚*cam . . . flowen*' the important word is the second. ‚Come' is here an auxiliary, a sort of stylistic device that shows us the bird in the act of flying.

Cf the Inf. and also the Pple after *come* and the Verbs of motion. Einenkel (Streifz., 272), mentions

the O. E. ,cwom gefered' which he compares to Germ. ,kam geritten'.

The Passive Pple preceded by the Verb *to be* may have a temporal value instead of being simply adjective. (*)

What have I to doo wyth the wulf, *hit is to fore clerly ynowh shewde* that he is a foule vylaynous kaytyf and an unclene beest 96/22.

Probably Caxton had in mind the Du. passage: Tis voer claerlic wel bewyst dat hi een snode villeyn . . . was 127,1, — and understood *voer* as a temporal Adverb (whether it really be an Adverb, or the Preposition *voer*).

In all the following cases the Past Pple has more or less the sense of an Inf. or of a Pres. Pple, because the action is not conceived as *entirely* past. In most of them *to be* is used impersonally:

And that ye blynded the kynge wyth suche lyes, *that* was ryght evyl *doon* (Du: misdaen, 63/37).

Is it not evyl *doon*. (Du: has here simply *quaet*) to sende to a lorde his servaunts heed 72/26;

O dere lorde this is to(o) moche *presented* to me 94/3. Du: Och lieve here dits te vele geboden 123,34. In French we may imagine a phrase like: ,*c'est* trop d'honneur *fait* à un seul'.

Was not this enough *said* ane *warned* 100/10. Du: was dit niet ghenoech ghewaerscouwet 131, fin., & 132.

It was alle payne *lost* 95/39. The Du. has a different order of words: dat was verloren arbeit 126,10.

But the sentence quite reminds us of the current French phrase: ,c'etait peine perdue', which occurs as early as the ,Chronique' of Monstrelet, in the first half of the xvth century. (Monstrel. II, 151: ,ce fut peine perdue').

The Past Pple may also be used as a predicate in connection with the *object* of a sentence. This is

(*) This is the case which has been studied by Stoffel for ,to be dead' = to die, to have died (Cf. *Taalstudie*, 1888, p. 98, &c); the author gives instances from Shakesp., M. E. texts and refers to *he waerd ded* in the A. S. Chronicle, but seems to believe that the case is restricted to the word *dead*.

espec. frequent after Verbs of sensation, perception, affirmation and factitive Verbs such as *get*, *have*, &c. Here again the sense of the Past Pple confines to that of an Inf. or a Pres. Pple for the reason already given above. Early M. E. and O. E. parallel cases will be found in Mätzn. III, p. 88.

I have *herde* ofte *named* parys london akan and coleyn 42/3.

Shal I *see* you *brought* fro lyf to deth or elles *exyled* out of the lande 58/25,26.

Cases with *have* deserve our special notice, as they are often difficult to distinguish from the simple use of a periphrastic tense formed with *have*. Generally the place of the object solves the question, but there are dubious instances, e. g.:

Ye *have* two murderars *arrestyd*; — the order of words may have been brought about by the Du. original (ghi hebt twee moerdenaers ghevangen 61,15.

In: (it) was judged that reygnart should come and *have excused* hym hierof 6/4 we are at first inclined to see the Past tense of the Infinitive. Yet, ‚to have oneself excused' may have been an idiom. Cf. in Mätzner *holde hym excused* (Town, M. p. 168) *have hem excused* (Piers Ploughman).

The interest of these cases is that they give us the key to the formation of the periphrastic past tenses. From the idea of *possessing* an object in a certain predicament it is indeed not difficult to pass to the notion of having *put* that object in the said situation.

The use of the P. P. as a predicate of a word preceded by a Preposition (*without his ransom paid*, Shakesp. I. Henry III, 3, 3), is a latinism (type: ‚*post urbem conditam*') which seems not yet to have been developed in *Reynard*. (In Fr. we find it early: ‚après la pais conclue' Comines, 2, 9. See Einenk. 77).

Absolute use. This construction was probably a late

feature of the language. Mätzner, indeed, refers to the O. E. dative absolute. It is true that in an instance like: ‚þa geseah heo *openum eagum* ... leaht cuman' we seem to have a genuine beginning of the absolute construction, where the Dative, like a weak instrumental, is not quite independent yet of the rest of the sentence. Kellner (Outlines, § 411) seems to think that the construction was spontaneously developed in the Germanic languages, as well as in Latin.

But if genuine, why was this use discontinued? The fact is that where a Dative absolute occurs in O. E. it probably was a translation from the Latin. (*)

Instances of this use are scanty in *Reynard*, if we except such instances as ‚*many years goon*'.

The next instance, about the only one I can quote, is by no means unmistakeable:

ther muste be two or thre atte laste to gydre and that they understande the right and lawe and *that don* (late the sentence gon) 76/10.

Don may be a pleonastic Personal Verb connected with *late* (Infinit.) See *do*, under *Auxiliaries*, where another interpretation of the passage is given.

The Du. is too different to throw light on the subject: laet daer ons twee of drye te samen horen spreken die hem des rechts verstaen het gae dan daert sculdich is te gaen ... 97,33.

Prepositional. The development of a Passive Pple into a Preposition may be observed in the words *ago* (M. E. *goon*, *agoon*) and *passed*. The latter was the original case according to Einenkel (*Streifz.* 280) who gives the intermediate stages: *the prime is passed* –

(*) This is the conclusion arrived at by the M. Callaway in his work on ‚the Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon' (quoted by Wülfing, op. cit. I, 147), and corroborated by Wülfing's researches on the Syntax of Alfred.

it is passed prime, &c., — and points to the influence of the Fr. ‚passé'.

That courtoys hier complayneth of that is passyd many yeres *goon* 6/28.

I knew that wel XII yere *a goon* 42/24.

Now two yere *passid* cam a man and a serpent here in to this court 75/12.

ADVERB.

The adverbial use of Prepositions and the formation of separable or inseparable Compound Adverbs with *there*, *here*, *where* and a Preposition, replacing a Preposition + a Neutral Pronoun are treated of as a sequence to *Prepositions*.

Similar formations occur with *there*, &c., and any adverbial expression:

ther bysyde was an hie montayne and lande and *there* muste brune *in the myddel* goon over 12/8.

A pleonastic Correlative Adverb is sometimes introduced in these connections:

there was he beten *therfore* 30/27; ... *hier* behoveth other counseyl *herto* 31/31; and *there* she ete so moche *therof* that the wormes have byten a two her throte 69/20.

The correlative construction also occurs with other Adverbs:

Affter thise wordes tho torned hym reynart toward his castel 15/25.

The limit between Adjective and Adverb was not so sharply defined as it is now. The use of the same word in either acception was frequent. Adjectives, in adverbial functions, were found as well before Verbs as before other Adjectives, e. g.:

flowris *swete* smellyng 5/6; fonde the gate *faste* shette 12/13; made it *playn* (= quite) like to the other ... 38/29; had don so *evyl* 44/3; they fal fro *hye* to *low* in grete shame and sorowe 114/26.

Especially frequent are the intensive Adverbs:

sore = Du. *zeer*, Germ. *sehr*: complayned sore, hasted sore &c. 5/20, 15/1, 56/16; *clene* 82/12; *dere* 67/35; *fayn*:

well, 97/19; *right*; *plat* in: plat blinde 105/37, which is very probably borrowed from the Du. *plat blinde* 139/6. (Cf. Logeman, Inleid. LIV). (*)

The converse phenomenon, although rarer, occurs also. Just as in O. Fr. *quand*, *souvent* may be declined as Adjectives: *souventes fois*, *quantes fois*, we find the M. E. Adverb *oftymes* = *ofte*, the formation of which may be illustrated by the next passage:

...who that wyll have the very understandyng of this mater he muste *ofte* and many *times* rede in this boke 4/15, Cf. *often tymes* 107/3, *how wel of tymes* 10/6, *oftymes* 64/2,29. opposed to *somtymes* 66/6.

I see a similar case in: I thought by this a lyknesse whiche *hier a fore tyme* byfylle to the frosshis 37/27.

The whole expression ‚hier a fore tyme' (Dutch: hier voormaels 48,19) may be compared to the above ‚there... in the myddel'. In ‚a fore tyme', I regard ‚*a*' as = on (Cf: ‚go a pylgrimage' s. *Prepositions*) and ‚*fore*' as qualifying ‚tyme'.

We also find *to fore time*: I have get *here to fore time* gyven to you many a good counseyl 67/25.

With *a fore tyme*, cp. *a fore*: And what somever I have saide *a fore* or after, that is clerly al trouthe 96/12.

to fore: I herde you wel *to fore* 12/35.

The Adverbial use of Adjectives was still very free in the first part of the XVIIth century, as well as in Bunyan, a little later. It was limited about the time of Dryden. Intensive Adverbs such as *arrant*, *excellent*, *hugeous*, *prodigious* were retained later. (Franz. *Engl. Stud.* XVIII, 192). Cf. the modern colloquial and vulgar use of *precious*, *jolly*, &c., and the occasional use of *near*, *scarce*.

Among Adverbs derived from Nouns we find *a parte* = a little:

(*) *plat* = flat, occurs also: 38/24, 108/19.

and that causeth me *a parte* to be hevy in my herte 25/4.

Conversely, Adverbs are used as Nouns:

I shal come to myn *above* 33/30. Cf. 108/9, 112/4.

A considerable number of Adverbs are based on an Accusative absolute. Thus, Demonstrative or Indefinite Adjectives or Pronouns in the Neutral Accusative serve to form *Adverbs* of *Quantity*, of *Negation* &c. A frequent idiom in *Reynard* is ‚*al that*... he can, may' = as much as:

they smote and stacke hym al that they coude 16/25.

I wil helpe therto al that I maye 56/38.

Besides *al that*, the simple *that* occurs:

I helped hym *that I myghte* 57/13.

All may also be intensive = quite, very:

were *alle* angry and sory. Cf. *al pale* 72/34, *al wery* 86/5, *al evyl* 99/36, *groned*... *al softly* 92/13.

It may be used in connection with *too*, in order to emphasize the Superlative: *we tarye alto longe* 21/33 — This is not due to the analogous Du. use, nor to the Du. ‚*al*' = ‚reeds'. The corresponding passage has simply *wi staen hier te langhe*. It may be interesting to quote a parallel instance from Dryden (referred to by Franz. *Engl. Stud.* XVIII), since the N. E. Dictionary does not especially treat of this use and only mentions the use of *all*, emphasizing the verbal prefix *to* (in all-to break = break asunder, whence *all-to* was considered an independent group and joined to other Verbs); — the following passage is the one referred to: ‚Mr. Cowley had found out that no kind of stuff is proper for a heroic poem as being all *too lyrical*' (Dryden, Ded. *Aen.* XIV, 222). Among Adverbs of Quantity we may also notice *any* before adverbial comparatives:

I wil not that ye goo *ony ferther* with me 47/36.

‚Any further' is quoted as a new phrase in the the *Babee's*

Book, ab. 1470 (Kington Oliphant, *N. E.* I, 328). Mätzner does not mention this use of *any* (*).

Double: and he clered hym of *double* so many playntes . . . 57/32.

As to *Negations*, we find *nothing* = not, which is derived, like *not* (*nought*, *na wiht*), from an Accusative:

. . . and knewe *nothyng* what this myght be 15/13; that he toughte he fonde *nothynge* 39/33.

Compare with the use of *none other thing* = not otherwise, not besides:

They knewe none other thyng why ne wherefore 113/24.

This sense of *nothing* still survives in the XVIIth century:

„. . . which is nothing pleasant to hear'. Bacon. *Advt. of Learning* 251, 23 (Clar. Pr. ed.).

According to present use, two negations, except in constructions with *nor*, invalidate each other. Until the end of the XVIIth century, two negatives had more force than one. The double negation is frequent in *Reynard*:

See wel to(o) that ye not mysdoo *ne* trespace *no* more 15/31. Cf. 38/25, 65/17, 73/22, &c.

A similar case is: ye nede *not* to shette but one wyndowe 109/32 (= you need to shut but one window).

Never so is used for N. E. *ever so*, in concessive clauses:

though it snowed stormed or frore *never so* sore 82/10, 82/32.

The use of *ne* preceding the Verb and anticipating some following negative (as in the French construction *ne . . . ni . . . ni*), is rare:

ther ne bleef nether man *ne* wyf 15/29.

Never . . . more is found used as a separable expression:

(*) The *N. E. Dict.* gives as earliest instance, a quotation of ab. 1400: „*or he come ony nere* (= nearer) *Epiph.* 136. The next one is from Caxton.

I wil *never* doo so *more* 29/2. Cf. 61/4.

Nay occurs as absolute negation in answers:

Nay sire nay not for alle the worlde of rede gold 68/3. Cf. 62/11, 72/16; opposed to *ye(a)*: *ye* eme therfore muste ye resseyve suche maner payment 101/13; cf. 21/4, 37/38; – as affirmation, we also find *oy* 62/24 = Du. *jae* 80/24.

Noo is instead of *not* in the next passage:

Thenne he asked of them what they counseylled hym, yf he sholde gyve the felde unto the kynge or *noo* 112/37. (Franz, in Engl. Stud. XVIII, 393, 9, gives a few similar instances for the XVIIth century).

Adverbs with *temporal meaning*.

After = afterwards:

I began to wexe hardy *after* 34/30.

after they repente hem, and thenne it is to(o) late 110/9.

Algates (= *always*).

I toke a glasse or mirrour and a combe whiche my wyf wold *algates* have 83/9.

Bytymes (betimes):

I wil to morow *bytymes* as the sonne riseth take my waye to rome 43/16.

A fore, a fore tyme.

Oftymes, see above.

Other connections with ‚*time*' are *al in tyme*: we shal awake you in *al in tyme* 104/12 (in Du: wel in te tide wecken); *on a tyme*, *upon a tyme* (preserved in N. E. ‚once upon a time'); *that time*, which may be better explained by the assumption of the dropping of *at*, *in*, &c., these Prepositions being before *that* in unstressed position:

My lord *that time* were ye ... und alle your counseyl here wyth acombryd 77/6; *that time* was he above alle other bylevyd and herde in the court 77/16; Parys was *that time* an herde man and kepte his faders beestis 83/36.

The same use is found in Bacon:

I could wish there were a perfect course of history for

Grecia from Theseus to Philopoemen (*what time* the affairs of Grecia drowned and extinguished in the affairs of Rome). *Advct. of Learning* 92,27.

In formations with ‚*while*' we may observe how an adverbial ending arose out of adverbial phrases: *in the mene whyle*, *in a short whyle after* 54/12, *whyles* 39/25, 55/12, *otherwhyle* = sometimes:

I fele myself *other whyle* encombred in my stomak 59/31. (Du: bi wilen); Ther is no man so wyse, but he dooleth *other whyle* 65/32.

Otherwhiles occurs in the same sense in Piers Plowman 5, 557. The use of *other* may be explained by some mental comparison with another *other* to which it is opposed: *other . . . other* = *some . . . some*.

Stoundmele, from time to time, literaly, hour by hour:

the foxe loked on the kynge *stoundmele* and was glad in his herte 40/35. Cf. Chaucer, *Troil.*, v, 674; O. E. *stundmaelum*, *styccemaelum* (where *maelum*, like *wilum*, *wundrum* = adverbial Dat. plur.)

Seeld: ‚An Enemys mouthe saith *seeld* wel' 7/26.

long = for a long time, since long:

Reynert the foxe whiche *longe* had not spoken 3216; Cf. Dutch *lange*).

For the sense of *long* in the connection ‚to think long' = to long for a person's return which occurs twice in our text, see Stoffel (Stud. in Eng., especially on p. 123).

He take leve first of dame ermelyn his wyf and of his chyldren, and saide *thynke not longe* I must goo to the court 61/6. My wyf shal *thynke longe* after me 99/25.

Note also the adverbial phrases *in an evyl tyme* 22/19, *in an evyl hour* 48/27, which mean as much as ‚unhappily', *in the ende* 74/34, *at the ende of X days* 58/8, *to-day by the morrow* = to morrow 55/20.

Adverbs with local meaning.

After = behind 26/40, 85/41.

Afterward from = back, backwards:

his kynne and lignage drawe al *afterward from* hym 78/34.

To fore = forwards, in front 50/27, 78/22.

Forth:

Come *forth* 79/24; called him *forth* 79/22. Welcome my dere chyldren *to me forth* and stande by reynard your dere nevew 89/23. (Not in Dutch: Willecome sproek vrouwe rukenauwe myn lieve schoene kindere *coemt* ende staet by reynaer uwen lieven neve 103,6).

In a derived sense, *forth* = further, moreover:

Lantfert cam ... wyth the preest and *forth* with alle the parysshe 16/8. Now here how the foxe *forth* dyde (= continued) 45/4.

Withinforth = within: are ye *withinforth* as ye seme outward 72/16. Cf. 84/37;

withoutforth = outwardly: *withoute forth* on the rynge stode a stone 82/11,12. Cf. 85/12.

The two words are found in Chaucer, Reg. Pecock (Skeat's Specimens, P. III).

Besides *withoutforth*, *without* occurs: ... abode *without* (= outside) 98/11.

Forthon = henceforth: Eme see now *forthon* that ye doo good werkis 28/23. (Du: voert an).

Nigh:

I shal so answere, that I shal touche somme *nygh* ynowh 59/38. I was *ny(g)he* al a swoun 55/6.

Nigh seems to be due to the Du. in the next passage:

Nay it is not so cleer, ne so open *now her nyghe* 72/17. (Du: Neen ten is soe slecht noch so claer niet *nerghens nae* 93,4).

Overal (ubique): 50/6, 54/12, 73/20, 1176, 117/30 is not due to the Du. (Cf. Logeman, Inleid. LIV).

Adverbs with *modal meaning.*

The connections with ‚*wyse*' again illustrate the passage of adverbial phrases into simple Adverbs:

I sorrowed that it myght happen us in *lyke wyse* 37/38; *in lyke wyse* as he was 77/30; but I myght *none other wyse* doo 99/30.

Otherwyse is also found after an Indefinite Pronoun = ‚else':

we wyl none *otherwyse* send for hym 58/5.

Note ‚right as' = ‚just as':

and *right as* the feest had dured VIII days a boute midday cam in the cony 54/26. Cf. 55/16.

So, also.

Also is found in the meaning ‚likewise', ‚in the same way' (in keeping with the etymol. *eall swa*, wholly so):

Hit is better to have prys honour reste and pees ... than to have shame (hurte) unreste ... *Also* it it lytyl worship to hym that hath overcomen a man thenne to slee hym, it is grete shame 110/15.

It may also imply a gradation: They ben many and *also* the moste parte that crepe after his waye and his hole 117/21. (In Du. simply: sie creepen *alle*, &c.).

Also serves as a correlative in comparisons a function which is not fulfilled by the abbreviated form *as* (*also*, *alse*, *als*, *as*):

the mone shyneth *also* light *as* it were daye 20/27. I shal never *also* longe *as* I lyve have her frendship 81/10.

Cf. Chaucer: *also many, (Leg. of G. W.* 528*); also muche as* (*C. T.*, D., 2134). Note that the latest instance of this quoted by Murray dates from 1410.

Also = *so*:

I see that ye be *also* wery *that* the swete renneth down by your chekys 12/39; And thenne was his body *also* glat and slyper that the wulf sholde have none holde on hem 103/15.

Also sometimes has a conclusive sense similar to that of Modern German ‚also' in:

Reynarde's frendes and lignage to the nombre of XL have taken *also* their leve of the kynge ... 118/38.

So is found in elliptic concessive clauses with the same sense as the German ‚*so* . . . *auch*':

hier is none *so olde* that ever so moche sawe on one heep in alle his lyf 39/1. (Du: hier en is nyemant soe out . . . 50/14.

So as a weak conjunctive particle, introducing the principal Verb after an adverbial phrase occurs in a few passages where it is probably due to Du. influence, it must be added, however, that this use is not restricted to our text (s. Franz., *op. cit. E. Stud.* XVII).

Whan thyse wordes were spoken *so* stode there a lytyl hounde and was named courtoys . . . 6/16. (Du: onder deze woerden so stont daer een honde kijn ap ende hiet cortois).

Wyth this *so* cam Tybert the catte with an I was moed 6/33. (Dutch: onder dies soe coemt tybert die cate mit toernigen moed).

Especially after a conditional clause:

Is it true that men saye *so* was lantfert a stronge carpenter . . . 14/24.

So, in the formula *so helpe me god* 21/12 (Du: soe helpe mi god) may be explained as an Adverb of manner and reminds of the French ‚Ainsi Dieu me soit en aide', but there was a parallel use. of O. E. *swá* (Mätzner II, 539).

Thus = so:

I knowe none . . . that I wolde laboure fore *thus sore* 14/16.

Unnethe = hardly, searcely (O. E. *uneáþe*, not easily):

The foxe . . . lawhed so sore that he *unnethe* coude stonde 23/5. Cf. 35/10, 46/7, 63/24, 91/35, 95/14. Also in the form *unnethis*: 39/22.

Note the phrases with *that is* ‚that is to say' 113/25. 114/34; *in especyal* = especially, 26/1.

As to the functions of the Adverb in the sentence we may notice the use of an Adverb in the sense of an Imperative, with ellipsis of a Verb expressive of motion: *to me forth* 79/23 (not due to the Du. in this passage).

An Adverb or Adverbial Preposition may also be used attributively and be equivalent to an Adjective clause:

He stopped the hole ... and made hit ... playn lyke to the other grounde *by* 38/29. (Cf. the Modern use of ‚*hard by*').

The place of the Adverb in the sentence will be studied later on.

Among the many tautological constructions which occur in our text, we may mention here that of a Verb with an Adverb of cognate meaning:

he ofte was wonte 12/21, *I was wonte many a tyme* 26/22, (as in English of the present time we may still hear ‚he *often used* to invite people'); *answerd agayn* 8/4, *mysfylle ... evyl* 55/26, *escaped away* 113/36, *tarye longe* 117/6.

PREPOSITION.

Prepositions denoting Origin, (answering to the question u n d e).

Of.

Of expresses separation, origin, cause, instrument or agency, lastly reference; its use is rather extensive in Caxton and partly encroaches on the present use of *from*, *for*, *by*, *on*, *about*.

Of denoting movement from an object, = from, out of, off:

He brak a rodde of(f) a tree 28/12. Wyth moche payne cam I *of* his clawes 50/3.

Arber wrongly adds an *f* in the first instance; the distinction of meaning between *of* and *off*, which were first two various spellings, belongs to a later period. (S. Mätzner II, 276).

Of denoting origin, — transition between local and causal meaning:

I had foure grete holes in my heed *of* his sharpe nayles 55/5.

A frequent case is of before country names; we may see an analogous case in: ‚alle them of the court' = belonging to, depending on the court.

In Chaucer, *of* is used especially to denote causes of diseases: ‚He knew the cause of every maladye, were it of colde, or hete, or moyst, or drye'. Ch. II, 14. (Einenkel. p. 160). — The following instance is similar in appearance (causes and effects of diseases being apt to be confused); but we may also explain *of pricking*, &c., as a *genit. qualitatis* with the value of an apposition:

What man loked in the glasse had he ony disease of pricking or motes, smarte or perles in his eyen he shold be anon heled of it 84/30.

Of denotes the agent in passive constructions:

How brunne the beere was sped of Reynart the foxe 12/1. He shold have been murthred *of* his owen folk 35/38.

This *of* was developed at the extense of O. E. *fram* under the influence of Fr. *de* (O. E. *of* only in *acenned of*, *geboren of*; O. Fr. *par* only in special cases, see Einenkel p. 162). For Shakesp. s. Abbott, § 170. Caxton also uses *by* with this function.

Of is used after Verbs of anger, repentance, wondering, to denote the cause of the feeling: ‚I *have* grete *mervaylle* of you' 74/36 reminds of O. Fr. *se merveiller de*; but O. E. *wundrian*, *wafian* were found with the Genitive; so were many Verbs denoting affections ot the soul and impressions of the mind. Ct. Wülfing, I, p. 15 and p. 19 &c.

To have pity is found with *of*, but not more frequently than with *on*.

To *think* is also used interchangeably with *of* and *on*.

Of is found after Verbs meaning blame, accuse, condemn. Likewise in O. Fr. I was not able to trace back this use to the oldest periods of the language:

Yf the scolers were not ... *reprised* of their truantrye they shold never lerne 8/23; thaugh one falle ofte ... he is not *therof* dampned 74/7.

Witnes of in the following passages is perhaps due to the confusion which frequently arose between *of* and *on*. *To witness on* = ‚to take example of', was a usual idiom in Chaucer. For the explanation, see Einenkel, p. 184.

The foxe saide my lord ther ben many that complayne, that yf they sawe their adversarye they wold be stylle and make no playnte, *witnes* now *of* laprel the cony and Cor-

bant the roek which have complayned on me to yow in my absence, but now . . . they flee away 72/3.

Of is found before the thing – Object after *pray:* ‚I pray you of a bo(o)ne' 34/5. This use is old. Cf. Genitive after *acsian*, *biddan*, Wülfing, I, p. 14

Note the phrase *have right of* quite equivalent to the Fr. ‚avoir raison de':

I caste to thee my glove and take thou it up, I shal *have right of thee* or deye therfore 102/5.

Holde of in the following passages is due to Du: influence:

Ye muste . . . avenge you in suche wise as men may fere and holde of you 56/6. Du: soe doet hier alsulcke dapperlicke wrake van ende rechtinghe dat men *van u houde* 72,3.

Holde of seems to be here a synonym of *fere* and possibly Caxton understood *houden van* as = ‚keep from'. But in the second instance in point, the sense reminds us of the Mod. Du. ‚van iemand houden' and the case is the more interesting, as the expression is not found in the corresponding Du. passage:

I pray and commande alle them that *holde of me* and desire my friendship . . . 56/33. Du: Ic bidde ende ghebiede alle die ghene die myn vrientscap ende myn hulde begheren . . . 73,1. Possibly Caxton put in *holde* as a sort of random translation of the Du. *hulde*? (*)

Of may express conformity, agreement or, in general, *manner*.

The two senses are closely related:

Yf I durste I wolde pay you *of mercy* 32/35; . . . as he ought *of right* to doo 57/25; *of right* we ought to thanke yow 98/37.

Of may also mean *about*, *concerning*, viz. denote reference:

Ther stode also in that myrrour *of* the wulf how he

(*) *Reyn. II*, 364, has also *hulde*.
In Chaucer, *to ben ih-olde to som wight* = to be devoted, to have obligations. But this use is again different. A last hypothesis is that ‚them that holde of me' = vassals, viz. ‚*tenants*'.

fonde ones upon an heth a dede hors flayn 88/14; herde the foxes wordes *of* the Iewellis 93/16; *herof* he can saye naye 94/37. Likewise in titles of books, chapters: A fayr parable *of* the foxe and the wulf ca. XXXIII.

The following cases may be referred to the same use:

That *is of them* (= is the case of them) that ben wonte to murdre and robbe 76/25. Have ye not herde the complayntes that here have ben shewde *of* hym of murdre of theefte and of treson 74/29. (Du: die claghen dye hier *op* hem gaen ... 97,2).

This use was modelled on French and Latin *de*. The French must also had influence on the use of *of* denoting *manner*; remember however O. E. adverbial genitive such as *þonkes*, *unþonkes*, *gewealdes*, *ingewealdes*, &c.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish *of* denoting reference from the simple Objective Genitive with *of*.

Compare: ‚he fledde wyth grete *fere of his lyf*' 87/36, and ‚I gat counseyl *of the makyng of them*' 52/16. We may view in the same light the phrase *make an end of* something:

Ryght as the cony had made an ende *of* his complaynt cam in corbant, 55/16. (The phrase *make end of* occurs as early as R. de Hamp. *Pricke of Conscience*. S. Kingt. Oliphant, New Engl. I, 33).

The Subjective Genitive is also often rendered by *of*, even with Personal Pronouns (Cp. the modern phrase ‚not for the life of me' or the Fr. ‚en l'honneur de moi' and see, for various other instances in Mod. colloquial English, Storm, *Engl. Phil.* 681).

... forgaf the foxe alle the mysdedes and trespaces of his fader and *of hym* also 40/39.

After Adjectives *of* is used to denote cause, means, instrument consistency:

pale and *lene of* prayeng and wakyng 9/11; an hawe

whyche was *thyck of brembles* 97/38; he is yong and *grete of frendis* 71/5. (Du: hi is jonck ende *groet van maghen* 91,16).

In ‚ye muste ete the lyver of a wulf *of* VII *yere old*' 90/19, we have the exact equivalent of the Fr. expression *agé de*. The genuine E. construction is with an Accusative of measure.

One of the most important and primitive functions of the Genitive is to denote quality. (Cf. Grimm. *Deutsche Grammatik* IV, p. 552). It is then very much like an Adjective and may be used attributively. Closely related to the attributive use, is the appositive use of the Genitive. Of course we consider only here cases of analytic Genitive, viz. of Genitive with *of*. (*the land of England; the Mountain of Nebo*; *the vale of Glencoe*, &c.).

I have suggested that in the passage already quoted: had he ony disease of pricking &c. 84/30, the Genitive might be regarded as an apposition.

The appositive *of* may be kept where it no longer immediately follows a Noun, viz. where it is used with the Predicate:

Whom gladly I wold not ȝewraye *yf the sorow were not of the helle* 36/2.

I understand this as meaning ‚if the pain I had to expect for my silence was not the hell'; and from the presence of the Definite Article *the*, I am inclined to believe that the construction is due to the analogy of the connection ‚the sorrow of the hell', meaning, not Reynart's care or fear of hell, but the hell as a punishment. A few lines before, Reyn. expresses the same idea: ‚I wil not Ieoparde my sowle, and yf I so dyde I shold goo therfore in to *the payne of helle*' 35/36.

Analogous cases:

the rame ... wente to the awter and sange in his bookes and radde ... over reynart, whiche lytgl sette ther by, sauf

that he wold have the worship *therof* 47/5, i. e.: except that he would enjoy ‚this worship' — the honour which these prayers constituted for him. For the sense of *worship*, cp. 78/14, 119/10.

I wyl gyve hym *the fordele therof* (= that ‚fordele') 97/25.

For instances of appositive Genitive in O. E., s. Wülfing I, p. 45.

A special use of the appositive Genitive is found in such expressions as *a devil of a fellow*, where the Substantive which governs the Genitive denotes a quality. Cp. the French *diable d'homme*, *drôle de corps* (where drôle is Substantive, cf. Darmesteter, p. 194). I did not come across any such instances in *Reynard*, although Kellner quotes some from Malory. In the following case, where there was an opportunity for this use, a different construction is employed = ‚*The fool my wyf* supposed he had said trouthe' 94/28, not: ‚that fool of a wyf'.

Of is used in connection with other Prepositions or Adverbs with which it forms compound prepositional expressions:

... set up *above of* every man 117/28; the fynest gold that ever cam *out of* arabye 56/2.

From, *Fro* is not of such frequent occurrence as now, as its use is encroached on by *of*, *out of*. It has nearly always a local meaning. *From* is used before vowels, *fro* before consonants (*brought fro lyf to deth*, &c.), but the rule is not without exceptions: ‚the wythholdyng you *fro it*' 24/14.

In connection with other Prepositions, Adverbs:

his kynne and lignage drawe al *afterward from* hym 78/34; eche man laboureth to put other *out fro* his worship 118/2.

In the next instance *froward* is used with separable elements, quite on the model of *toward*:

They leep and ronne faste *fro* them *ward* 87/15.

Prepositions denoting rest in a place, (answering to the question ubi).

On.

On is often the equivalent of *in*; this is probably due to analogy of Fr. *en*, the influence of which may have been facilitated by its outward resemblance with the proclitic form *an*:

we wylle syngen here vygylie and brynge her worshipfully *on* erthe (= bury her) 11/10; who that hath nede of helpe shal fynde *on* her grete frendship 70/32; now ye shal here of the mirrour, the glas that stode *theron* (= *in it, to it*) was of suche vertu that ... 84/27. (Du: dat glas dat *daer oene* stont 110,30). Cf. 86/20.

On denotes the object to which the activity expressed by the Verb is directly applied, or which bears the consequences of the action ...:

I am he that now ye wille doo *on* me what it shal plese you 32/38; knowe not ye how ye mysdeled *on* the plays whiche he threwe doun fro the carre ... and ye ete the good plays allone 7/35; that ye love us wel that have ye wel shewde *on* the cony and *on* corbant the roek 67/14.

In the corresponding Du. passages we generally find *an*, *aen*.

On denotes reference, = as to, about, concerning, especially with verbs of *saying*:

spack wyth afelle moed ylle wordes *on* the foxe 44/37. The first *complaynt* made Isegrym the wulf *on* Reynart 5/22.

On is used after Verbs of *belief*: ‚hi bileveth not *on* god' 82/1; after *to see*, &c.: ‚looked shrewdly *on* me 20/23; it is used, like *of*, after *to think* 99/7, 103/12; *to pity* 5/28, 10/40, 36/10, and other Verbs of feelings or

related Substantives: ,*on* whom Reynart had grete *envye* 10/5.

It is mistaken for *of* in:

yf courtoys had ony parte *hieron!* 6/31; they take heed of nothyng but *on* theyr synguler prouffyt 87/6.

On might be explained as = *about*, but seems to have been influenced by the Dutch ,*an*', in:

he range so sore that the folke . . . mervaylled *what myght be on the belle* 26/17. (Du: *wat an die clocke waer* 34,3).

On is used emphatically instead of *to* in:

ther is none lyvyng unther the sonne that I vouchesauf better my tresour *on* than *on* you bothe 41/8.

It expresses aim and is equivalent to *after*, *for*, in:

one shal alway *seke on* his frendis 70/33. (Not in Du: Een sal sijn vrienden alle weghe besucken . . . 91,3).

Sometimes an idea of motion is implied by *on*:

howe come I *on* this campyng 102/7; how the foxe dyde (the shoys) *on* his feet for to goo to rome 2/12; how sholde I thenne take it *on* honde (= undertake) 19/28.

For the phrase ,to bere (something) on hande' (to somebody) = to accuse of, which also occurs in passive constructions, see *Passive*.

On has a modal meaning in such adverbial expressions as:

his visage was *alle on a blood* (= ableeding) 101/4, probably influenced by the Du: sijn aensicht en was anders niet dan *met enen bloede* overloepen, 133,5. Cf, also *on fire*, Fr. *en feu*, *en sang*.

A.

This weakened form of the older proclitic *an* = *on* which was often confused with *in*, occurs in *a two:* ,the foxe had byten his throte *a two*' 49/6, 69/21; *in two* also occurs: ,my herte wyl breke *in two*' 93/11; *a swoun*: ,he fyl doun half *a swoun*' 69/10; goo *a fote*

69/25; *a pilgrimage* 37/19, 48/34. For *a* before the Gerund (‚go a hunting') s. Participle.

In *a colde:* kywart ar ye *a colde* 42/15. (Du: Cywert hebdi coude), *a*, according to Murray is of different origin. It represents, as in O. E. *acélan*, an original intensive prefix *ar* = Germ. *er*, which we find in O. E. *ar-aefnan*.

In *a curse* we have the same prefix which was later confused with O. Fr. *a* and Lat. *ad*, *ac*, whence *accurse*. In the Past Pple this *a* has the appearance of an Indef. Article and in fact, it seems, from the next passages, that some confusion arose between Indef. Art. + *cursed* and *acursed*, the Pple of *acurse:*

men shold saye ye reysed and accompanyed your self with *a cursyd* and persone agravate. The kynge saide sith that *ye stande a cursyd* in the censures of the chirche yf I wente wyth yow men sholde arette vilonye unto my crowne 43/22-25.

A paid 29/15, Fr. prefix: *apaier* = apease (Stratmann); *an hongred*: ‚I am an hongred and am wery' 68/32. *An* is explained by Murray i. v. *an hungred*, *an hungry*, as = *a* before vowels, and as having the same intensive value as O. E. *of* in *of-þyrsted* (Cf. N. E. Dict. *An* pref. 5).

A right in ‚I saye for *a right*' 77/35, may be the Indef. Art. + Subst. *right*, but may also be = *of right*, *a-right*.

Upon.

Is used very much like *on*, but seems to be preferred to the latter after *swere*, 37/20, *answere:* ‚answerd upon Reynard's excuse' 67/6 *all:* ‚called upon your good grace' 76/39.

Upon denotes local relation, either in the proper sense:

satte upon hys tayl, — upon hys hammes 18/22; she was leyde in the pytte and *ther upon* was leyde a marble stone . . . 11/16;

or with a figurative meaning:

seke every man *upon* his feblest and wekest 64/34. (Du: soecken een yeghelijck op sijn wecest 83,12); the contraversye was sette *upon* parys 83/35.

Note the following instances, where an idea of motion is rendered by *upon*:

This thynge fyl doun upon the floer 22/33;

the foxe lepe upon hym wyth al his might 111/20.

In.

In is first used to express the rest of a thing ‚in the limits of' another thing, – then, more generally, the remaining in a certain situation: ‚the foxe . . . laye *in* a wayte to doo harme' 54/21. From the idea of a situation it is easy to pass to a notion of manner: ‚the fowles and byrdes syngen melodyously *in their armonye*' 5/9. (Not in Du.) Hence adverbial connections such as *in scorne* 8/4, *in secret* 37/24.

To the local meaning belongs the use of *in* + Reflexive Pronoun to denote that something is shut up, so to speak, in its own limits: ‚the foxe laughed *in hym self*' 41/15. We should prefer to day *to (by) himself*. This use is old. Cf. Mätzner II, 369. Besides the original sense ‚in the limits of'. a less definite local meaning was developed very early by *in*, *on*, *at*:

He smote the wulf *in the heed* 108/2; he caught hym *in* his feet 106/33 = under his feet, *feet* being considered as a whole. (Du: in sine poten).

O. E. instances in Mätzner, II, 364. The same phenomenon occurs where *in* is applied to *time*: *in an evyl hour* 48/27; *in an evyl tyme* 54/3; note also the absolute expression *in time*, *al in time*: we shal awake you *in al in time* 104/11.

In is, of course, nearer its old meaning when the word denoting time is in the plural:

‚the lyon wolde ... *in the holy dayes of thys feest* holde an open Court' 5/11.

For older instances, s. Mätzn. II, 372; for Shakespeare, Abbott § 161.

It is interesting, with regard to this use, to compare various versions of the Gospels; *in* will be found to be very frequent in *Wycliffe*: Luke, II, 41, Anglo-Saxon (995): ‚And his magas férdon aélce geare to Hierusalem *on* easter-daeges freolstide, — Wyclieffe (1389): ‚*in* the solempne day of paske'. — Tyndale (1526): — ‚*att* the feeste of ester':

Mark x, 34, Anglo-Saxon: — ‚and he árist *on* þam þriddan daege': — Wycliffe: ‚and *in* the thridde day he schal ryse ayen'. — Tyndale: ‚and *the thirde daye* he shall ryse agane'.

For curious survivals of *in* = *on* (local or temporal) in Mod. American Engl. cf. Franz. *Engl. Stud.* xx, 79.

In sometimes denotes reference, = in the case of, with regard to:

... it shold not be thought *in* hym, that it were ynowh ... 7/31.

With various Verbs and Adjectives *in* denotes the sphere of action, or the objects with regard to which the quality is shown. *In* in these cases has often a causal meaning and becomes very much alike to *of*. As to Verbs, Mätzner mentions in particular those meaning to *thrive*, *prosper*:

He wynneth *in* the spyrituel lawe and temporal also 65/1; — They *studye* so moche *in* the connyng and science that they therin doole 63/22, my fadre cam fro skole fro Monpellier, where as he had fyve yere studyed *in* receptes of medycynes 89/39; — he *brenned in* the desyre and covetyse therof 35/16; — he is *guilty in* alle the trespaces that ben leyd ayenst hym 23/33.

Besides denoting rest, *in* may be used after Verbs of motion or at least, after Verbs expressing a tendency towards a certain direction. *In* may then have a pregnant meaning = *into*: the flatte vlycche of bacon ... that ye allone *ete in your bely* 8/3;

therof shal ye fyrst have the choys er ony *come in* my body 109/10; yet myght this thyngis wel chaunge and *come in* theyr old state 67/32; See Eme thus *come* I *in* the wordes and I am leyde in the blame 69/15; I shall *brynge* them alle *in* the popes curse 70/39; — she *fyl* doun in a swoune 50/35.

To this use corresponds the O. E. *in* with the Accusative (Mätzner II, 370) and the Mod. constructions *to set in motion*, *to fall in love*. Cf. also the Americanisms *get in the stage*, *come in town*. (Storm. Engl. Phil. 885).

At.

There was an old, M. E. and O. E. (also Gotic and Old Icelandic) use of *at*, *aet* = from, which stil survives in the Mod. expression ‚at the hands of' S. Mätzner II, 409. I found no trace of this use, — which seems already to have died out in Chaucer, — in our text, unless we must refer to this origin *out at*, which has the same sense as the expressions *out of*, *out fro*, already quoted:

He ete so moche withoute mesure that he myght not come *out at* the hole where he wente in 26/26.

But the passage is best explained as a case of the *instrumental of* which is treated of by Mätzner, II, 415. For more instances of *out at*, s. Mätzner II, 280. *At* is also found in connection with *in*, *down*, *behind*, (Einenkel. 119). It must be remembered that *at* = from, was more especially used after Verbs meaning take, receive. As to the transition of a local into an in-

strumental sense, notice that we have the same phenomenon in the corresponding Du. passage: ... dat hi ten gate daer hi ghecomen was niet weder uit en mochte. (*)

At in the local sense is sometimes = *in*, *on*:

Alas what payne suffred I tho *at my herte* 95/2. — It may be used of persons as well as of things: I shal neither hate hym ne have *envye at hym* 88/9.

I may here mention the construction of *at* with the elleptic Genitive of some personal name, wheresome such word as *house*, *church* &c. depending on *at* is omitted:

have ye ought forgoten *at lantferts* 18/3. — Mätzner (II, 407) points to a similar use in O. Icelandic, Du: ‚tot lantferts' ts'.

At referring to time:

I a wayted *at al tymes* as nygh as I coude 38/19 (= in all occasions). Du: tot allen stonden 49,24.

At is also found in adverbial connections. Note *atte longe*, of which I could find no other instance.

Atte longe it shal be wel knowen 78/32. (Du: om lanck k, 101,6).

At stade in *holde an open Court at stade* 5/12 is a translation of the Du. *te stade* 7,5 and it is dubious whether Caxton exactly knew what the word meant. He kept the Du. spelling which is due to a confusion between *stade* and *staet*. S. Muller & Logeman's *Reynaert*, Notes, p. 159.

By.

This Preposition has two principal meanings, viz. the local and the instrumental or causal meaning.

By in the local sense may denote simple proximity:

Myn Eme hat *leyn by her* 8/13; *a byde* this nyght here *by me* 20/31; *here by* dwelleth a preest and hath a barne

(*) We have a similar case in the Vulgar French „il est arrivé au train, au bateau de 5 heures" = „par le train".

by his hows 20/39. (Du: *hier bi* woent een pape ende heeft een schuyre *an* sijn huys 27,7); *hier by* is a gybet 32/4. (Du: *hier bi* is een galghe 41,15.

With a figurative meaning: dar not *abyde by theyr wordes* 72/6.

With Verbs of motion, *by* takes the sense of *along*, *about*, *through:*

the swete *renneth doun by your chekys* 12/38; yester morow as I cam *rennyng by* his borugh ... I supposed to have *passed by* hym peasibly ... 54/32.

Figuratively, *by* may mean *in addition to*:

he hynge an the foxes necke a male ... and a lytil palster *therby* 47/9. Note also the phrase *sette by* = value; cf. 47/4 and see *sette* under *Verb.*

It is easy to conceive how from the meaning *along*, we may come to the meaning *through*, in other words, how from the idea of ‚way' leading to some place, we may pass to the more general idea of ‚way' conducting to some aim. Hence the use of *by* denoting manner, conformity with, instrument, agency: The sense ‚according to', ‚with' is found in:

by your counseyl 19/19; *by your leve* 79/3; I biseche you to considre *by your wysedom* alle thinge *by right and lawe* 67/1; he shal lawhe *by mesure* 14/12.

The original local meaning is still more apparent where *by* = ‚concerning': every man curse them and *saye evyl by* them ... 114/30.

By in temporal expressions:

by day or nyght 44/11; *by the morow tyme* 55/20.

By has a pregnant sense in the next example, where it belongs to a parenthetical clause and refers to some Verb which has to be supplied:

... ye remembre litel *by* the wordes (= to judge by) I her of yow 92/35.

We have here a case of what M. Bréal aptly calls

the ‚subjective element' in language (Bréal, *Sémantique*, p. 254).

WITH.

With has the two same essential meanings as *by*. The primitive sense is ‚*contra*', Mätzn. II, 437. Later it denotes accompaniment, manner, instrument, cause. It is used to indicate some physical or other quality in appositive phrases equivalent to a surname:

Syr bertolt *with the longe fyngers* ... In the next passage the first *with* has a similar sense, while the second means manner, cause: ... this preest that sytteth her *with* the bloody crowne he lost his skynne *wyth* the uncortoys departyng of the swyn 92/26.

The idiom *what with* ... repeated, is represented in:

What wylh the devels helpe and crafte *and for* my faders richesse they concluded and swore there the kyngys deth 37/5. Note that we have *what with* ... *and for*; *for* is earlier in this connection, but *with* ... *with* already appears in Gower.

After words denoting a friendly or an unfriendly disposition *with* precedes the object to which this disposition applies: *wroth with* 47/31, 58/16.

Note the expression *to be grete with*. We might at first be tempted to supply some word like *friend* after *grete*:

she was *grete* wyth the quene and wel belovyd 73/4. Du: Dese was mitter coninginnen *zeer lief* ende wel ghemint 94,5.

But the Adjective again appears alone in:

they thought that the wulf was better withholden and *gretter wyth you* than I was ... 113/23. Du: hem docht dat ysegrym bat met u ghesien was dan ick arme knecht 149,18.

Applied to *time*, *with* denotes simultaneousness and is found in the compound Demonstrative Adverbs *therewith*, *herewith* (= with this):

herewith he departed = with this, or *after* this he de-

parted. — Note also: ... *wyth* the first messager that shold come... they shold be redy 39/28 (concrete expression = ‚with the coming of').

Note the expressions: *meet with* 68/14, this occurs in Layamon (Mätzner II, 441) but in O. E. *mètan* was always transitive; In ‚I *fonde* hym *with the dede'* 94/37, *with* probably expresses contemporaneousness as when we say: ‚*I arose with the dawn'*.

With is found before personal Nouns, with Verbs expressing a situation, e. g. with *be* used impersonally:

me thynketh you are not wel wyth your self 68/17.

For.

The original sense is the local one = before. This meaning is still felt where *for* = *instead of:*

How dame rukenawe answerd *for the foxe* to the kynge 73/1.

From this idea of substitution, *for* may come to denote the price of some service:

O dere reyner lede me thyder *for alle* that I may doo for yow 21/3.

For = as, is further used before appositions or ‚second objects':

I telle you *for trouth* 24/16. And thenne Iudge they *for right and lawe* that smale thevis... shold be hanged 78/14.

We may see a reminiscence of the local sense in the next passage:

he hath ben *advocate for the bysshop* of cameryk IX yere 68/15. The Du. has here simply the Genitive: *des bisscops advocaet* 87,32.

For expresses the *aim*, thus, after Verbs of motion:

... the first messager that shold *come for them* 39/28.

In other instances where no idea of motion is included, the connection of *for* with the preceding Verb is less intimate and the expression is similar to an Adverb:

I advyse you *for the leste hurte* that ye and my lady goo bothe thyder 41/24.

For shares with, *of*, *by*, *with*, the meaning of origin, cause, instrument, *quoke for fere* 47/2. This function survives up to recent times, although *for* is rather superseded by *of*, *from*. Dr. Johnson's theory was: *for* before a privative (‚to die for thirst') and *of* before a positive.

The causal *for* is frequent in Reynard:

An oth sworn *for force* is non oth 50/12; he wiste not whatto doo *for joye* 17/23; old wymen that *for age* had not one toeth in her heed 15/36; he myght not see *for the blood* which ran over his eyen 16/7.

Out of this meaning will have developed the sense *in spite of* which we find in ‚for all that'.

The foxe understood theyr menyng wel, he thought towards them but lytyl good *for al that* 93/28.

For = for fear of, to prevent: ‚al this I passe over *for losyng of tyme*' 85/18.

See on this sense of *for*, which is not referred to by Koch or Mätzner, – Stoffel, *Studies*, p. 18.

BESIDE.

A Lytel *besyde the waye* 28/30.

Cf. O. E. *be sídan*, Caedm. II, 547.

NIGH.

Whan he saw her so *nygh* hym 55/28. How shold I come so *nygh* her 69/25. It shold goo to(o) *nyghe* myn honour and worship 95/26.

Nigh, like *next*, as a rule immediately precedes the Noun it governs. *Nigh to* is quite exceptional.

Prepositions denoting motion, direction, (answering to the question quo).

To.

To is probably used without an idea of motion, although in the local sense in: ‚they camen to *his burgh to Maleperduys*' 119/7. We might connect the second *to*, like the first, with *camen*, but it is better to consider *to Maleperduys* as well as the corresponding Dutch passage ‚*tot Maleperduys*' as an apposition = *of* Malep., *at* Malep. ‚Tot' is not unfrequent in Du. in geographical appositions. It may be explained as indicating direction, without implying a material motion.

The motional sense is felt in *brynge to the lawe* = summon, 19/28, in ‚haste you ye be *sette therto*' 32/22.

To = *up to*:

And the wente in the myre *to* the bely to(o) 94/29. (Du: Ende ghinc *ten buke toe* in dat slijc 124,23), they were... byclagged *to* their eres to(o) 98/30. (Du: *totten oeren toe* 129, in fine).

Note that *to* in this sense is used in connection with another *to* which is Adverb and borrowed from the Dutch, as the quotations show.

There are several instances of *to the number of*, where *to* may have had primitively an analogous meaning.

The Du. text shows no such expressions. K. Oliphant, (*New English* I, 154), quotes an instance from Trevisa (about a century before Caxton). Compare Wycliffe, St. Mark, v, 13: ‚the floc was cast doun in to the see *to tweyne thousynde*, and they ben strangelid in the

see'. The A. S. Gospel has the simple apposition, *twá þúsendo* while Tyndale uses a periphrase: *they were about* ij *M. swyne*, and they were drouned in the see. — The idiom is probably due to the Fr. *au nombre de*, although O. E. *oþ* was also used before Numerals (Koch, § 424).

To is used to express about the same relation as the Genitive, buth with a more concrete shade of meaning: *to the feigned mirror*, 85, *title* (Cf. in Mod. E. the difference between *the key of* and *the key to*, Sattler, *op. cit.* XVI).

To may be used like *on* to denote the object to which some feeling or action applies: *he hath grete envye to yow* 59/14.

To also expresses direction, after *see*, *look*: ‚*look to me*' 110/33.

To denoting aim: I love my sowle to(o) wel *therto* 88/5.

To introducing the ‚second object' after Verbs like *take*, *have*, &c. ‚Tho toke I ermelyne my wyf *to helpe* 39/3.

The phrase *late . . . to hyre*, seems to be a similar case:

late their tonges to hyre 65/21. (Du: *verhueren*), other instances of hyre as Substantive: ‚our lorde god shal ones rewarde them their *hyre*' 30/7.

The adverbial expression *to foot* in ‚the foxe sprang from hym lyghtly. For he was lyghter *to fote* than he' 105/30 is probably due to the Du. ‚want hi was die lichtste *te voete*', 138/32.

To denotes fitness, adaptation: ‚what saye ye *hereto*' 58/12 (‚in reply to this).

To = as to, with regard to:

he had for to answere *to* many a fowle feet and theft that he had doon 29/20.

Finally, *to* serves to form the analytic *Dative*. Let it suffice here to mention that the Dative with *to* was

more frequent than now, espec. after Verbs like *give*, *tell*, &c.

To . . . WARD.

As a separable Preposition, common in our text:

to you ward 14/15, *to maleperduys ward* 20/8, *to him ward* 98/11, *to the dore ward* 27/22, *to the cburt ward* 28/28, 29/17, *to the galowes warde* 33/9, *to the village ward* 38/34, *to the bataylle ward* 104/28.

In to ward: tho wente the force agayn *in to* his borugh *ward* 23/14. Instances from Layam., in Mätzner II, 330. —

Cf. *unto Paris ward*, Shakespeare, I Henry VI, 3,3.

Toward = with regard to:

he thought *toward* them but lytyl good 93/28.

UNTO.

Unto is an emphatic form of *to*, implying a continuity of direction. Caxton, however, often uses it quite as an equivalent of *to*;

hurt unto the deth 18/31; he come to court *unto* the plee 19/17, I see noman but I have trespaced unto 34/21; I gyve it unto you 41/12.

It will be seen from these examples that *unto* represents not only O. E. *tó* but the *to* of the periphrastic Dative. As to the etymology of this Preposition, see Mätzner, II, 327. (The first element of *unto* is compared to Gotic *unte*, O. E. *op*, &c.). Unto does not regularly appear in literary language until the 14th century and was probably introduced from the Northern dialects.

For the use of *unt* in Mod. E. cf. Mätzner, *do*.

INTO.

This Preposition properly denotes introduction of an object ‚inside of' another. But in *Reynard*, it is often used like *unto*, to express the mere direction, with the sense of *to*.

I wente in to the village 26/28; Now wil reynard goo over the see in to the holy lande 46/32.

Applied to time, = *up to, until*: in to thys daye 54/1.

The original meaning of *into* is quite lost in a case like:

and tho clamme he upon an hye tree *in to the toppe*, under the levys 87/25.

Note also: Our lord the kynge... wyl that this batayl be ended, *he wil take it in to his hand* 111/26.

AGAINST.

Denoting direction = *obviam*, after Verbs of motion:

ye cam fro ferre out of a grove agenst us 91/30. (Du: ghi quaemt van verre... in onse gemoete 120,19). This is the original sense. See Mätzner, II, 357, 358.

In temporal expressions:

He muste faste and make hym redy *ayenst the hye festes* 69/2. Du: die sal hem *teghen* die hoechtiden bereyden 88,22. — But this use is old: *Tôgeanes Eastron* (Sax. Chron. 1095). Mätzn. II, 359. Also in the form *agayn*: Also though he were al naked in a felde *agayn* an hondred armed men 82/39.

THROUGH.

Thurgh is always used in Reynard in the local sense, e. g. 27/4, 29/30.

Prepositions denoting some more definite relation than the preceding.

BEFORE, TO FORE.

To fore is generally used in the local sense of *ante:* Isegrym cam and stode to fore the kynge 5/25. Instances abound.

Be fore is much rarer: he stode byfore his dore 54/32.

To fore is not frequent in the temporal meaning: to fore midday 52/5; to fore this 67/31.

Note the expression: *here to fore tyme* (= before this time) 67/25.

To fore is found as an Adverb in Shakesp., Cf. Abbott, § 72.

AFTER.

After *to look*, &c.: ‚the lokyng *after* the polaylle' 29/16. (Du: nae den hoenren sien 37,33, Mätzn. II, 485); after to *search*, *long*, *call*: *creyd after helpe* 50/30. (Du., differently: Soe riep hi lude help mi 65/3). Mätzn. *d°*.

Denoting agreement, = according to: *after the sentence and Iugement* of your men' 7/14. (Du: *nae* 9,17).

‚*After* my Jugement' (= in my opinion) 85/38, *therafter* 75/9, 93/4. Mätzner II, 487. — ‚After the rate' for ‚at the rate' is frequent in the 17th century.

OVER.

The proper meaning is that of ‚going beyond', with an idea of motion. — *Over* may also denote a point of space, = above: ‚over his eyen' 92/6.

Figuratively, denoting domination:

made hym soverayn and grettest *over* al his landes 115/25.

The proper meaning of superposition is found in: *began to rutsele over his tayl* 18/23. — Du: *began te rutselen over sinen stert* 24,7.

Over = about, concerning: (the rame) ... sange in his bookes and radde suche as hym thought good *over* Reyn. 47/4. Cf. 103/4, 104/7, 104/16, 24/15.

For mod. instances of this use, s. Mätzner II, 490.

The proper sense is found in *over alle his body* = all about, all over. Note that in the Mod. ‚all over', *all* is Adverb, whereas it is an Adjective referring to the next word, in the passage quoted:

ther receyved tybert many a grete stroke over alle his body 22/27. (Du: over al sijn lijf 29,12).

The same expression, with *all* made into a neutral Noun becomes the Adv. *overal* = ubique, utrobique, which must not be regarded as an imitation from the Du. — Cf. Muller & Logeman, Inleid., LIV. I am not quite certain, however, that the local Adverb is meant in the passage in point (116/6) and from the context, a possibility remains that ‚overalle' would mean ‚in' or ‚about' all matters:

(Du: ghi sult over al mine woorden houden 152,22. — Caxton: ye shal over alle speke and saye my wordes.

WITHIN.

Is used of space: wythin lystes in the felde 102/2; or of time, like Du. *binnen: with in five dayes* (= at the end of) 61/19.

WITHOUT. Is found in the sense of *outside*:

Parys ... kepte his faders sheep *withoute troye* 83/38 ... drewe hym ... *wythoute* the village 27/12.

The local sense is now quite absolute. Traces in Shakespeare, Abbott, § 197 in Bacon, Bunyan, s. Franz, *op. cit.* Engl. Stud. xx, 102; — in Mod. American English, *do.*

Without = ‚without mentioning', ‚besides':

there in were wreton xij·c· of ysegryms lignage by name *withoute* the beres, the foxes, the cattes and the dassen 39/26. Cf. 27/2.

SAUF.

Sauf = save 109/27. — Adverb: 94/10. — also Conjunction: 86/21.

Saving:

And alle they that desired the kynges frendship were there savyng reyn. the foxe 54/20. —

Saving is to be regarded as an absolute Participle.

UNDER.

Occurs in the meaning of ‚*inter*':

And we hadde goten *under us bothe a swyne* 91/28. — The Du. has differently: ‚te samen' 120,16. — This use is old. Cf. Mätzn. II, 499, *infra*.

Connection of Prepositions and Adverbs.

We have seen in the Syntax of the Relative Pronoun that a Preposition + Relat. Pron. could be replaced by such adverbial compounds as *wherein*, *whereof*, &c. Similarly, Compounds Adverbs may be formed with *here*, *there* and a Preposition, in order to avoid the repetition of a Demonstr. or a Pers. Pron. These connections appear in all periods of the language but are generally disliked in N. E. (Mätzner III, 111).

In *Reynard*, they are still extremely frequent e. g.: *therin* 12/11; *here in* 59/26; *therof* 17/36; *herof* 14/7; *ther by* 20/36; *here by* 20/38; *therto*, often = ‚moreover' 35/22, 35/9; *herto* 31/22; *theron* 55/24; *therat* 16/12; *therwyth* 13/26; *herwyth* 28/18; *therover* 28/15; *therup* 27/20; *ther besides* 12/7; *here without* 48/22; *ther after* 75/9; *her against* 75/9; *therthurgh* 98/26; *ther, her, with alle* 108/14.

These Adverbs may be governed by some Preposition: *out therof* = out of it 65/9.

They are separable: And *ther* stode a faldore *by* 27/19. Though ye be not grete *ther* lyeth not *on* 19/30; ... to tho byrchen trees shal ye goo, *there* lyeth the tresour *unther* dolven 41/29.

Besides the construction of a Prepos. + an Adverb, e. g. *out ther of* (cp. *from above*, *from thence*), we find a Prepos. + some adverbial phrase containing a Preposition: *from off thy feet*, *up to the fort.* (Mätzn. II, 585). — Of course the Prepos. may be placed after, or separated from the word belonging to it and is then no longer to be distinguished from an Adverb; it is in this way I should explain the passages already

quoted under *to*: wente in the myre *to the bely to* 94/29; byclagged *to the eeres to* 98/30.

Adverbial Prepositions.

Most of the Prepositions we have examined appear as Adverbs when used absolutely, without reference to a following Substantive. But as a Substantive may be supplied from the context so that the prepositional sense is partly retained, I mention the case in the present Chapter. The adverbial *to* presents some peculiarities. Besides the usual sense which appears in: ‚I have none of my kyn that I truste so moche *to* as to yow' 20/21, there is the more emphatic meaning of the two passages just quoted (*to the bely to; to the eeres to*) which we have explained above by the influence of Dutch *toe*.

The following is an analogous case:

I knowe but one wyle and *theder must I too* 87/24. (Du: Ic en weet niet dan enen raet *daer moet ic toe* 115,1).

To is also found in the predicative meaning of closed, shut up: ‚the grynne wente *to*' 22/7. We find in Du: ‚die stricke ghinck *toe*', but cf. Chaucer: „... clapt the wyndow *to*' (*Cant. Tales* 3738); Dickens: ‚The wind has been and blown the down *to*' (Little Dorrit, 177).

Probably we have a kindred meaning, used figuratively under Du. influence in:

but the moste parte of alle *cam to* by the vertue of the wood 85/19. (Dutch: Ende dit quam al meestendeel *toe* by des edelen woudes crachte 112,3).

The phrase ‚*see to*' probably originated in an ellipsis where some noun was implied after *to*:

see now wel sharply to 14/31. (Dutch: Siet nu nauwe *toe* 19,7). — Grimbert said *he shold see wel to* 24/6. (Dutch,

differently, ‚voer hem sien'). Cf. I betake you my chyldren *that ye see wel to hem* 25/12. (Du: dat ghi daerwel toe siet).

‚*Put to*':

every man wil be ther at and *put more to* (i. e. contribute to the beating of Bruyn).

Cf. in Present English various idiomatic uses of *put to*, *come to*, *bring to*.

Of:

Sytte of 86/4 = get down (from horseback).

Note the use of *On* in:

I am nevertheles *yl on* ynough 17/11. (Ic hebbet nochtan quaet ghenoech 97,34).

Probably some Verb ought to be supplied, as with *of and on* in the next instance:

but the sores were so open that he (the wulf) myght not wel renne, and the foxe myght better *on and of(f)* than he 107/18. (Same expression in Du: Ende reynert die mocht bet an ende of 141,16)

Up so doon = the modern ‚*upside down*'.

Me thynketh this court is al torned up so doon 74/19.

As to the origin of this idiom, Einenkel postulates a primitive *of so up so doune* which he refers to the French ‚de si haut en bas'.

Note the sense of *by* in the next passage:

I axed hym *how cometh that by* 69/22 (very likely also originated by the Dutch: hoe moet dit *bi* coemen 89,11).

Up is often used pleonastically after *arise* Instances of this are: 22/18, 25/8, &c. For similar redundancies, see Adverb, *in fine*.

In: ‚the stork *swolowed them in*' 37/34.

As regards the position in the sentence of the adverbial particles *of*, *up*, *out*, *in*, the rule is that they immediately follow the Verb. But in a few cases, they are prefixed to it, e. g. in the P. Pple *thurgh soden* 113/36, 114/10. — Note the position of *to* in:

Tho begonne they Placebo domino with the verses *that to longen* ... (= that belong to it) 11/13. (Dutch: *mitten veersen daertoe dienende*).

Sometimes these particles are separated from the Verb by intervening objects. Thus besides *outrun*, inseparable, we have:

he gate out his heed 16/1; yet ought ye to *here my wordes out* 67/25; he *smote* the catte an eye *out* 22/28; *holpe* his wyf *out* 96/9.

N.B. The two elements of the Preposition *out of* are separated in the next instance; *of* is treated as a Preposition governing ‚the tree'; — *out*, as an Adverb connected with ‚brak': Reynart ... *brak out* the betle *of* the tree 15/4. (Du: ... brac die beitele uter eycken 19,20).

The insertion of the Verb or Predicate between a Noun and the Prepos. referring to it (Kellner's ‚Dependent Preposition' Outlines, § 445), which gives the latter the appearance of an Adverb, is frequent in Caxton, espec. in relative clauses:

the beestys departed and wente *to their places that they came froo* 116/37.

Sometimes, by a curious mixture of constructions, the Prepos. is expressed twice, viz. at the beginning of the clause before the Noun or Pronoun, and, again, at the end:

Alas *in* what daunger be ye comen *in* 58/24. This is an evyl connyng, *of* whiche lyf, scathe and hurte may come ther *of* 65/24. He shal charge none *to* whom he hath gyven his saufgarde *to* above the right and lawe 73/21.

For instances of the same use in Mandeville, &c., see Mätzner II, 530. (*)

The use of rejecting the Prepos. at the end of a sentence or clause is frequent in M. E. as well as in N. E. It was avoided in ‚elevated style', under the

(*) An older use, however, was to place the Preposition before the Verb: Villelm þe we *embe* sprecaþ *Sax.' Chron.* 1087.

influence of Latin, by some writers of the XVIIth century, but rehabilitated by Addison and his contemporaries.

With may be inserted between Verb and Object: two shoes *for to accomplysh wyth your hye pylgrimage* 45/26. This use of *with* is old (Kellner, *Outlines*, § 445).

The avoidance of the repetition of the same Preposition before several words is a modern tendency in the language (Mätzner II, 537), but Caxton strikes us as being, in this respect, in advance of his time. Instances like the following are not rare:

I fere that *for* the grete falsenes thefte robberye and murdre that is now used so moche and comonly, and also (*for* omitted) the unshamefast lecherye and adoultrie god wyl take vengeaunce . . . 118/24.

The second term may even be preceded by a negation or any other determinant: ‚this was *to* his hurte and *no* prouffyte' 26/13.

In older times the Prepos. was repeated not only before independent words, but before a Noun followed by its apposition: ‚And come *to Brandight to the cite* (Octavian, quoted by Mätzner, *loc. cit.*). This is the only explanation that can be applied to the next passage, unless we simply consider the second *to* as a misprint: . . . ‚answered *to* eche *to* them' 31/13, (the Du. throws no light on the point).

Prepositions may be used predicatively and placed on the same line as Adjectives: *contrarye or agenst this* 37/11.

Here is an analogous case in a compound word: ‚here ben so many *by* or *side* holes' 50/4. — *By*, in this instance, has an attributive function.

Another instance of *by* = ‚*side*' in compounds is *bypath*, e.g. 12/6. The oldest instance of these formation with *by* referred to by Murray dates from 1637.

CONJUNCTION.

Coordinative Conjunction.

AND.

Although a tendency towards so called ‚hypotaxis' is manifest in M. E. syntax, especially in a predilection for relative constructions, yet the primitive ‚parataxis' still is used here and there.

Coordinative construction may be ‚asyndetic' or ‚syndetic': in the latter case *and* is mostly used as a connective word. By means of it, what may be considered as a single, but complex idea is disjoined into separate ideas. Thus, where we see various phases of an action, or an action with its modalities, and are therefore inclined to use adverbial clauses, Caxton often expresses several actions and juxtaposes verbs with *and* or without any outward link.

The peculiarity has already been considered as far as Verbs of motion are concerned (see Verb). Such phrases as: ‚Noble the kynge *wente and stode* upon an hygh stage of stone' 43/35, have been compared to the modern idiom ‚Come and see me', and we have wondered whether ‚go sing', ‚go see', were to be looked upon as subordinate or as (asyndetically) coordinate connections.

With these cases we may compare the following, where instead of *and* + a verb we should now prefer some adverbial determinant, say a Participial construction; whereas *and* with Verbs of motion usually ex-

presses succession and has a *final* sense, here on the contrary, it denotes *simultaneousness*:

Tho *spack* grymberd *and salewed* his eme and his aunte *and saide* to reynart eme beware . . . 24/10; — these words were not good to the foxe, and he sayde wyth an angry mode, *and dissymyled and saide* 42/8; — *He laye and bledde* (= he lay bleeding).

As the modalities of an action may be considered apart from the action, the attributes of a substantive notion may also be looked upon independently and placed on a line with the Noun they refer to, e. g.: ‚When the lion invites people to come to his ‚*feest and court*'; this is of course a redundancy, one of the many ‚doublets' of our text, but it has a distinctly character: ‚feest of court'; means as much as ‚courtly feast', in about the same way as our modern ‚carriage and four' means carriage *of* four, or *with* four horses.

Similar instances are:

the kynge sayde, ha reynart how wel can ye your *falacy and salutacion* (= fallacious salutation) doon but your fayre wordes may not helpe you 67/10; — I sawe hym bynethe my wyf shoving and stekyng as men doo whan they doo suche *werke and playe* (= pleasant work) 95/1. Du: als men sulcken spoel pleghet 125,3.

Murray only mentions the similar ‚hendiadys' which occurs in familiar speech with certain adjectives: *nice and warm, cut it nice and thin* (N. E. Dict. i. v. *And* B, 4).

An interesting case of Coordination instead of Subordination, which may be opposed to the tendency towards relative construction mentioned in a previous chapter (Cp. Relative Pronouns) is afforded by the use of *and* where we should expect to find a Relative.

In the west side of flaunders ther standeth a woode *and* is named hulsterlo 41/19. Tho spack grymbert the dasse, *and* was Reynarts suster sone with an angry moed . . . 7/23.

In the corresponding Dutch passages, *ende* is used. — But a development of meaning may very well have taken place spontaneously in English. Instances of Personal Pronouns expressed after *and* may be regarded as transitional constructions:

Ther sawe they goo a rede mare *and she* had a black colte or a fool of iiij monethis olde 62/2. Moreover there are instances of the same use in O. E.: *Tantun ond* (= *Tantun that*) Ine aèr timbrede (Cosijn, Kurzgef. Gramm. p. 59).

And introduces adverbial clauses, and is used in the sense of *but*, *without*:

Late us . . . departe in somme other foreste . . . there that we may lyve VII yere and more and (they) fynde us not 49/21.

And, *and if* = if:

The foxe saide my lord there ben many that complayne, that *and yf* they sawe their adversarye they wold be stylle and make no playnte 72/2.

The quene tho spak nay reynart the kynge shal lete you have your lyf and shal al to gydre forgyve you, *and* ye shal be frohens forth wyse and true to my lorde 40/12. (Dutch: ende ghi selt voert vroet wisen 52,6).

According to Murray *and* was older than *and if* in this sense. The earliest instances of *and* quoted in the *N. E. Diction*, dates from 1205; of *and if*, from 1394. About 1600, *and*, in this connection was regarded as an indispensable word and spelt *an*, especially before *it: an 't please you, an 't were.* From *an if*, was developed dial. *nif.*

Murray rejects the etymology O. N. *enda* and believes that the sense *if* developed independently in English as well as in O. G. *unde.*

The intermediate stages are not well illustrated in the *N. E. Dictionary.* Perhaps the passage I have quoted may be regarded as a transitional phase be-

tween the adversative and the conditional meaning of *and*: ‚the king will forgive you, *but* you shall be wise' &c., viz. *and* introduces a condition, the non-execution of which is not even contemplated, so that it is put in the affirmative form.

And has a pregnant sense in:

that shal he dere aby(d)e *and* alle his lignage (= and so shal) unto the IX degree 40/33; therof shal ye fyrst have the choys *and* your wyf and your chyldren 109/9.

Note the expression *and that*, denoting gradation:

And that shal I prove and make good on thy body wythin lystes in the felde *and that* body agenst body 102/2. (Cp. Chaucer, C. T. Prologue 43: a knyght ther was *and that* a worthy man).

There are instances of a parasitic *and* after verbs denoting speech or after substantives of kindred meaning.

My father trusteth on the promise that eche made to other *and* that he wolde for no nede departe fro hym 87/18.

And is difficult to account for in the next passage which seems to be a random translation of the Dutch:

And so it were better that I helde my pees and suffre, *and* the beste that I can doo for to amende myself now in this tyme 118/29, &c. (Dutch: Aldus soe ist my nutter dat ic swyghe ende wil hier mede lyden dat beste is dat elck dat beste doet in sijne tijt tot synen profyte. 155/22).

It may be finally noticed that *and* is often repeated before several terms of an enumeration instead of being expressed only before the last. As it serves moreover as a general coordinate conjunction = *then*, *for*, *but*, &c., the frequent occurrence of this word is a feature which strikes the reader of Reynard, as of other old English narratives.

Coordination in Negative Sentences.

Neither . . . nor have in contemporary English repla-

ced the older connections *nor . . . nor*, *neither . . . neither*, *ne . . . ne*. Mätzner III, 380.

The oldest use was *ne . . . ne*. Cf. the well known passage of the ‚Phoenix': *Ne maeg þaér rín ne snaw, — ne forstes fnaest, ne fyres blaest, — ne haegles dryre, ne hrímes dryre — ne sunnan haétu, ne sincald, — ne wearm weder, ne winterscur etc.*

Another construction was *nawþer ne . . . ne*: *ne ete ge naþer ne rysel ne blôd.* — Out of this was developed the usual E. M. E. construction *nather*, *nother . . . ne*, *no.* — The same occurs with *nether . . . ne* in *Reynard*:

Tho helped the bere nether flateryng ne chydyng 15/14; ther ne bleef nether man ne wyf 15/29.

Besides the construction *nether . . . ne* we generally find the simple negative form with *not*, *noman*, *never* in the first member of the sentence, while *ne* in the second has the sense of *nor* and, in the double negation, of *or*: That were *not* good ne honeste 57/16. Cp. 70/40, 72/12, &c.

The negation may be omitted in the first member of the sentence:

He coude not get out wyth myght ne with crafte hede ne foot 15/8; — the skateryng of the dust, thy pysse, thy mockyng ne thy diffence, ne alle thy false wylys may not helpe thee 108/25.

The use of *ner*, *nor* (contracted forms of *nether*, *nother*) instead of *ne*, in the second member of the sentence, is rare:

that alle maner beestis and fowles shold doo none harme *ner* scathe to ony other 10/17. This is so grete a wylderness, that ofte in an hole yere man *ner* wyf cometh therin 41/22. . . . My lord the kyng saith . . . that my fader *nor* I dyde hym never good 89/33.

The form *no* occurs once: ‚he had not moche mysdon *no* trespaced 8/15'. — *Nor* does not appear until

the M. E. period (the earliest reference to it in Stratmann's Dict., is from the Romance of *Will. of Palerne*, about 1350).

Conjunctions of Subordination.

THAT.

That was a ‚general Conjunction' which could be added to almost every other, give conjunctive force to preceding Adverbs or Prepositions, replace several Conjunctions, express nearly all the relations between sentences. It will therefore afford us an opportunity of completing the Syntax of the Sentence, part of which has been dealt with in the chapter on Relative Pronouns. It has been shown under that head how from a demonstrative meaning we pass to a relative one, i. e. how in some such instance as ‚I know a man ... that (man) is very clever', *that* becomes gradually more intimately connected with, and is finally absorbed in *man*, while coordination is changed into subordination.

Now, the history of *þe (þaet)* as a Relative is linked with that of the same word used as a Conjunction. — There is an especially close affinity between Relative clauses and certain Adverbial clauses. Such are those where a temporal expression was followed by *that*, so as to almost form a Compound conjunction:

syth the time that, unto the time that, in the mene w(h)ylle that 111/4. (Cp.: O. E.: *on þaere ylcan tide þe, þa hwile þe* ...

and all the cases where *that* expresses a somewhat loose relation to a preceding word, which relation is afterwards precised by additional determinants, e. g.:

ffor the man cam and threwe hym in a sacke *that* he scarsely cam out wyth his lyf 8/9; — the tree *that* the glas stod in 85/21 &c.

Einenkel considers *that* in these and analogous cases as a Conjunction (Paul's Grundr., *Engl. Synt.* §§ 144, 145). It must however be observed that the function of the clause beginning with *that* in such instances as the preceding ones, is identical to that of an Adjective Clause. If we consider *that* as a Conjunction, then we must look in the same way on *which* in the vulgar phrase: ‚Mrs. Boffin, which her father's name was Henery' (Dickens, Our Mut. Friend, I, 75). — If we regard *that* as a Relative the construction rests essentially on the same psychological process as so many 'anacoluthiae' which occur in our text. The O. E. and M. E. writer first expresses the idea which stands foremost in his mind and then completes or restricts the statement by means of addition. If a relation has to be expressed, he will first of all indicate by the use of *that*, *which*, &c., that there *is* a relation and afterwards tell us what sort of relation it is. (See above the use of a Supplementary Pronoun after Relatives and the Modern use of *which* in colloquial speech, Storm, *Engl. Phil.* 302). Moreover the question whether *that* is a Conjunction or a Relative Pronoun is of comparatively slight importance; the main point to be noted with regard to the history of the language, is precisely the mixed character of the word, which makes us uncertain about its nature.

Of one thing we are certain, viz. that both the conjunction and the relative use of *that* are derived from a demonstrative meaning. The question as to the priority of either development may be left aside, as we already find in O. E. a great variety of con-

structions with *þe*, existing one besides another. (*)

Besides ‚unto the time that', we find: *in suche wyse that, to the intent that; because that; sence that; how that; — in that, by that, for that, after that*, &c., — *when that* and many similar conjunctions which I shall only consider here in their relation to *that*. This conjunction may not only give a conjunctive force to Adverbs and Prepositions, it may even be added to another Conjunction (e. g. to *if*). For *as that*, see below.

All connections with *that* cannot be placed on the same line; in some of them, *that* is old; in others, it has been added by analogy; in some it represents an original Relative, in others an original Demonstrative after which a Relative has been dropped. The question as to the omission or non-omission of the Relative occurs again here (Cf. the Chapter on Relative Pronouns) and has to be decided according to each particular category of cases. In *unto the time that*, *that* is a Relative, and this Relative may be omitted:

A man of worship shold not lyghtly bileve ne swere gretly *unto the time he knew* the mater clerly 57/7.

In other similar connections *that* is demonstrative, but the Relative may still be extant besides it, as is plainly shown in the following passage:

I have truly holden the foxe for good and *upon that that* he wente no falsehede I helped hym that I myghte 57/13.

We have the same phenomenon, disguised under the present form of the word in *since that* = O. E. *siþ þan þat* (Cp. Skeat, Principles I, 430); — likewise in *after that*, *for that*, where *that* corresponds to the

(*) The following statement of Einenkel had therefore better be looked upon as an hypothesis: ‚Als ältestes Relativ wurde benutzt die (oben behandelte) *Konjunction* *þe* die ursprünglich für alle Kasus stand, der man später jedoch um Undeutlichkeit zu vermeiden das Personal Pronomen in dem betreffenden Kasus nachschickte' (Paul. Grundriss, § 147).

declinable Demonstrative *þam* of O. E. *after þam þe, for þam þe.* (Wülfing, § 304, 11).

Ther with alle must I be content not *for that* I had so grete nede ffor I have so grette scatte . . . 35/12. — N.B. *For*, in the sense of *because* long survived in the connection *for because*, an instance of which, from Smollet's *Humphrey Clinker* is quoted by Franz, *op. cit.*, *Engl. Stud.* XVIII, 422, &c.).

Of that in used in about the same way: ‚yet his feet ben sore *of that* ye made hym to lose his shooes' 103/37.

That, in such connections as ‚because, after, since that', disappeared definitively in the XVIIIth century. *How that* was among the connections that survived longest. *Now that* is of comparatively late formation (Franz, d°). (*)

Conversely there are in *Reynard* cases of simple Conjunction where we should more likely use *that*, e. g.: I have lever hange yow *than* I shold so moche praye you for it 46/39.

For the development of the *Substantive Clause*, the starting-point was once more the demonstrative meaning of *that*. In: ‚you see that, I am composed', *that* must have been originally a Demonstr. Pronoun connected as Object with ‚see'. An intermediate stage between mere ‚parataxis' and subordination was that where the two parts of the sentence were linked by the repetition of *that* in each of them: ‚*that* I am composed you see *that* (**) (on the formation of the Substantive Clause, see Kellner, Outl., § 104). — This stage is represented in our text by such instances as: ‚*that* ye love us wel *that* have ye wel shewde on the cony and on corbant the roek' 67/14. — Perhaps

(*) Many similar connections are still found in Mid. Dutch: *omdat, opdat*, &c.

(**) This stage is well represented in Mid. Dutch, e. g. in Maerlant: *Dat* dit waer is proef wel *dat* (*II Martyn*, 287).

we may see a reminiscence of this state of things in a repetition of *that* which occurs in Caxton (and in other authors, as late as the xviith century), when a Substantive clause which has been interrupted by some inverted clause or adverbial expression, is resumed again, by means of a second *that*:

Ye shal see *that* wyth in thre dayes *that* your hows shal be byseged al aboute 24/18; It happed so *that* on a morow tyde erly *that* grymbert my nevew was of wyne almost dronke, *that* he tolde it to dame sloepcade 87/14.

The same repetition occurs however in adverbial clauses, where the first *that* is of different nature:

In suche wyse *that* where somever ye fynde them in felde or in wode *that* ye may frely byte and ete them . . . 53/26.

The following passages contains a more complicated instance of Substantive clause where *that* is repeated several times:

I fere *that* for the grete falseness thefte robberye and murdre that is now used so moche and comonly and also the unshamefast lecherye avoultrye bosted blowen a brood with the avaunting of the same *that* wythout grete repentaunce and penaunce therfore, *that* god wil take vengeaunce and punysshe as sore therfore, whom I humbly beseche and to whom nothyng is hyd that he wylle gyve us grace to make amendes to hym therfore, and that we maye rewle us to his playsyr 118/19--27.

I quote this long passage as it affords a good instance of periodical style and shows an accumulation of *that* — conjunction or relative —, which would be avoided at the present time in good prose, but may be examplified by other passages from *Reynard*, e. g.:

He cursed and banned the hony tree. ande the foxe also *that* had so hetrayed hym, *that* he had cropen therein so depe *that* he loste boothe his hood and his eerys 17/12 &c. — the sonde and pysse clevyd under his eyen *that* it smerked

so sore that he muste rubbe and washe it a way 106/5.

The omission of *that* in Noun-clauses is frequent. This omission also occurs in Chaucer, as well as in O. E. In some cases it is only apparent — as we have there the Noun-clause in its oldest stage of asyndetic coordination. We may find *that* expressed and elided in the same sentence:

he thought the choys was worth ten markes and *that* he muste saye that one or that other 108/31.

As to the order of words, it may be noticed that, while the Verb is generally placed at the end in Adjective clauses, this position is exceptional with adverbial and Noun-clauses:

What prouffyteth bruyn the bere that he stronge and hardy is 15/9 (Dutch: dat hi nu wel stare ende coen is 19,25). he sawe wel that he begyled was 15/11 (Dutch: dat hi bedroghen is 19,27). In suche wyse that it no shame were unto your lordship 43/6. (Dutch: dat u heerlicheyt daer gheen scande of en had 55,21).

Although the construction was not foreign (in *O. E.* it was even the rule), it is probable that Caxton would not have used it but for the analogy of the Dutch text.

A peculiarity of construction which sometimes occurs in adverbial and Noun-clauses is the attraction of the subject of such a clause or of some demonstrative word announcing it, as Object of the principal verb. This is especially frequent in sentences introduced by *how*. The case in point is only an aspect of a far-reaching tendency of Early English Syntax, viz., the preference for concrete instead of abstract constructions. In: ‚*yf ye had seen reynart how personably he wente* wyth his male and palster' 47/27, it is ‚Reynard acting' rather than the action of Reynard which is kept in view, exactly the same difference as there is

between ‚after the sunne goyng down' and ‚after sunset'. A similar phenomenon appears in the construction we postulated for the development of the Substantive clause in its present shape and of which we found an instance in *Reynard*: That ye love us wel *that* have ye wel shewde, &c.' – to which I add the following passages:

I knewe that wel xj yer a goon, wher that stondeth 42/25. the foxe wil telle it how]it byfel 97/24; our chapelayn tolde us al the mater how it happed 72/28; I shal name to yow, thise Iewellis what they were 81/30 &c., &c.

The psychological feature common to all these examples is that the whole subordinate clause cannot be grasped as the abstract object of the principal verb but is provisionally replaced by the subject or considered as an indefinite ‚thing' represented by *that*, *it*, or by a Noun. Such constructions may be looked upon as an interesting link between coordination and subordination.

From its capacity of being added to preceding conjunctions, *that* came to be regarded as the conjunction ‚par excellence' and was used to *replace* other conjunctions the force of which it had, so to speak, absorbed, especially to avoid their repetition in coordinate sentences. After temporal expressions, it has the sense of *when* and the function of a Relative Adverb:

It was aboute the tyme of penthecoste or whytsontyde, *that* the wodes comynly be lustig and gladsom ... 5/5.

or the sense of *since:*

hit is more than a yere *that* he hath eten no flessh 9/4.

It may also be used as a substitute for a preceding *if*:

Dere lady *yf* the kynge wil bileve me and *that* he wil pardone and forgyve me ... 40/16.

that = but, but that:

he loveth noman so wel ... *that* he wel wold ... 6/35.

Causal clauses are nearly related to noun clauses and *that* has sometimes the sense of *as*, *because*:

I thanke ye cosyn *that* ye remembre me 104/24. — Woo to me kaytif that ever I was born 81/6. (Cf. O. E. construction: wá lá wá ... þaet ... Mätzner III, 447). *That* is here almost equivalent to a Relative.

That very often has a consecutive meaning = *so that*:

smote the beere on the heed that he ne here ne sawe 16/33. Cf. 11/5, 55/6. Instances abound.

Traces of this use survive in the Early Mid. E. period. Franz (Engl. Stud. XVIII, 425), has found an instance as late as 1638.

As.

This conjunction is one of the most important after *that*, with which it has much affinity. Like *that*, it may be used both as a Conjunction and as a Relative. In the latter function, it is now confined to those cases where the antecedent is *such*, but the popular use goes far beyond these limits. (s. Storm, *E. Phil.* Vulgärsprache, 803, &c.) — As a Conjunction, it shares with *that* the faculty of being added to other Conjunctions, Prepositions or Adverbs. Thus besides *where*, we find *whereas* in a purely local sense:

in a forest *were as* reynart had a bypath whan he was hunted 12/6. — Thus wente they to the place *where as* they wold be 21/25.

Quite in a similar sense we find *there that*, *there as*, for the transition from demonstrative into relative or conjunctive meaning is by no means restricted to *that*:

late us departe ... in somme other foreste, where we may lyve wythoute fere ... and *there that* we may lyve vij yere and more and they fynde us not 49/21; ... to the place *there as* the felons ben wonte to be put to the deth 33/15.

Besides in *suche wyse that* 5/15, we have *in suche*

wyse as 15/7 = *so that.* The second Conjunction may also be altogether omitted:

he had smeten two betels therin one after that other *in suche wyse* the oke was wyde open 14/28.

Note also *so as* = so that:

I complayne to you mercyful lorde syre kynge *so as* ye may see how that I am handled . . . 18/19.

So . . . as occurs once instead of a simple *so, such*, which sometimes concludes a sentence by seeking the cause of which the preceding clause expresses the consequence:

I were over moche a fool yf I shold . . . be mercyful to the(e) *so* many a confusion and shame *as* thou hast don to me 110/37.

As with a final meaning also occurs before an Infinitive:

I am oftymes rored and prycked in my conscience *as to* love god above alle thynge 64/2.

As before the Infinitive after comparative expressions such as *so, such, too* occurs, but may also be left out:

I trowe that ye be too wyse so to doo 110/10.

As with a meaning nearly related to that of a Relative in:

a lytel ȝesyde *the waye as they wente* stode a cloyster of back nonnes 28/31 (Dutch: besiden de wech al daer si hene gingen 37,13).

As, denoting simultaneousness:

and *as* he wente he saide himself 58/23.

As = when, is used instead of a coordinative conjunction (Mod. *when* is used in the same way):

Now is brune goon on his waye toward the foxe wyth astowte moed . . . *as* he cam in a derke wode 12/6.

As is often equal to *as if:*

tho loked he toward the kynge *as* he had ben sorowful to departe and fayned *as* he had wepte right *as* he hadde yamerde in his herte 47/10. Cf. Abbott, § 107. The same use must be recognised in Mod. E. *as it were* and in the

idiom *as who says* which has been dealt with in the chapter on Relative Pronouns.

As is found as a mere particle emphasizing or rather specifying some relation: *as for me* it skylleth not 72/8. (Mätzner III, 5, 4, 7).

In the next two passages *as that*, as a separable conjunction, seems to be modelled on the Du. *also dat*:

It was so that in the begynnyng of appryl whan the weder is fayr *as that* I *(w)as* (*) hardy and prowde 9/35. (Dutch: *Alsoe dat* ick koene ende hoemoedich was . . . 12,21) — he complayned to me that he lyvyd so straitly *as* in the fastyng and many thvngis redyng and syngyng *that* he coude not endure it 69/35. (Dutch: hi claghede mi hi had so swaren leven van langhe te vasten ende van vele te lesen *also dat* hijs niet ghedoen en conde 89,24).

Among connections with *as*, we may note *as ferre as* = provided:

I shal be to you a tryew friende and abyde by you *as ferre as* ye helpe we that I may have a parte of this hony 13/23. — Cf. *also ferre as*, 82/34.

for as much as, with the same meaning:

I have goten of hym *for as moche as* I made hym to fylle his bely, that he sware that he wolde be myn helpe an hole yere 27/15.

Various Conjunctions.

Conjunctions of Time.

When.

It has been said that, in the development from demonstrative into relative or conjunctive meaning, an intermediate step is that where the connection between the two members of the sentence is outwardly

(*) The second *as* in this passage must evidently, as the Du. text shows, be read *was*.

shown by the correlative repetition of the same word. Cf. the O. E. use of *þaer þaer*, *þá þá*. – A trace of this practice may be discovered in the correlative use of *when . . . then* or corresponding words instead of the Present simple *when*:

Whan reynart herd bruyn *tho* wente he Inneward in to his hole 12/22. — Whan bruyn the bere sawe that they ranne alle from hym . . . tho sprange he in to the water 17/5.

We even find *thenne whan . . . tho* (O. E. þá þá . . . þá):

thenne whan Isegrym was unshoed, *Tho* muste dame eerswyn his wyf lye doun in the grasse with an hevy chere 45/34. (Dutch: Doe ysegrym ontscoeyt was doe most wrou eerswijn sijn wijf legghen gaen in dat gras . . . 58,28).

This correlative use of *when . . . then* still occurs in Bunyan: ‚how when the shepherds had shewed them all these things then they had them back to the Palace . . .' 267, 11. Pilg. Progr. (Clar. Pr. ed.).

When = if: ‚what is that to me *when* he ete hony at lantferts hows' . . . 30/26.

When that: ‚*whan that* ye wylle we shall alle goo with you' 58/13.

Where.

The transition from the local into the temporal meaning may be observed in: ‚I ranne to the preest *where* he sat at the table' 26/30. — *Where* is perfectly equivalent to *when* in:

The foxe wysily kepte your noble honour and worship . . . *wher* hath the beer or the wulf don ever to you so moche worship 78/11.

Where denoting opposition = Mod. *whereas*:

for thenne wold I goo to the court and excuse me, *where* now I dar not 70/7. (Du: So ghinck ic ende verantwoerde mi . . . *ende nu* en dar ics niet bestaen 90/3.

Or = before: ‚*or* he can theder it was fayr day . . .' 23/19, 50/40.

Or, especially in *or ever* is still in use in the XVIIth century.

Er that = rather than: ‚yet had I lever *er that* the kynge . . . shold fare amys, that . . . 91/5.

Since, always in the form *sith*, *syth*: 61/22, 61,39. *Sith that*: 81/17, 110/25.

With that = while: ‚And *with that* he tasted . . . the cony smote russel to fore his mouthe' 69/7.

Til that, 71/1, 93/33.

So long . . . that, so long . . . til = till:

this dyde he with grete payne *so longe til* atte laste he cam to the court 18/25.

After that 61/10; *after* = according as: *after* he had need 12/26.

With regard to *local Conjunctions*, we notice again the construction with a correlative Adverb. The next instance reminds us very much of the O. E. use of *paer paer*:

my waye laye *ther by there that* I herde this songe 7/6. Note also: so lide me theder where the myes ben 21/8.

CONCESSIVE CONJUNTIONS.

Al = although:

and then shal ye wynne my love ye(a) *al* had ye slayn my fader moder and alle my kyn 21/9 (Dutch: ghi crighet daer myn hulde mede *al* hebdi minen vader ende mijn gheslachte gheslogen ter doot). Cf. 8/34, 8/37. *Al be it that* . . . 92/38.

This use is not mentioned in the *N. E. Diction.* We might be tempted to look on it as a bold ‚Dutchism', if we did not come across a similar use of *al*, *al be*, *al be that* in Chaucer, e. g. ‚*al sholde I* therfore sterve'. *Troil. and Cress.* I, 17. Probably this construction was modelled on a similar use of Fr. *tout*. (Einenkel i. Paul's Grundr., p. 912).

How. The adverbial *how* may, like *all*, assume the value of a Conjunction in certain connections, with a Subjunctive. *How be it* may be used absolutely as ‚nevertheless', e. g.: 66/34; but also as ‚although'. ‚*How be it* they have gretly trespaced, yet I had for your sake pardoned them' 72/10. Note also: *how* it ever goo 49/33, *how that* I doo 67/22, *how wel that* 38/36, with indefinite sense; and the correlative use of *how more . . . how more* in: *how more* forsworn, *how more* forlorn 50/10. This is probably due to the Dutch: hoe meer ghesworen, hoe meer verloren 64,16. But it is worth noticing that *hú* was found in O. E. before comparatives: *lenge hú geomor* (*Cod. Exon.* 110, 18, quoted by Mätzner II, 551).

How standing for the modern *whether*, introducing an indirect question, or for *what*, as object of ‚would' in:

And he ranne to the mare and axed her *how* she wold selle her fool or kepe it 62/32.

Though has a more pregnant meaning than usual in:

syre kynge how make ye suche a noyse ye make sorow ynough *though* the quene were deed 52/32 (= as much sorrow as if the queen were dead). Dutch: al waer de coninghinne doot.

The ‚concessive' meaning is often weakened and the clause introduced by *though*, equivalent to a Nounclause:

though the kynge and many one be upon me angry, it is no wonder for I have wel deservid it 33/25.

Hypothetical Conjunctions.

If that. 119/26.

If = lest:

the foxe was in grete drede *yf* hym myshapped 33/18 (Dutch *of:* Reynaer die hadde groten anxt of hem misschien mochte 43,1).

If has a pregnant meaning in the next two passages:

Bruyn the bere and ysegrym the wulf sente alle the londe a boute *yf* ony man wold take wages, that they shold come to bruyn, and he wolde paye them 39/10.

A verb such as ‚to say' must be understood. Cf. Dutch: Bruyn ende ysegrym seynden *brieve* alle die landen doer *of* yemant waer die ... 50,24). (*)

Also I shal take somme money with me *yf* I rede ony 70/19 (Dutch: ... of ick des yets te doen hadde 90,17).

But if = *unless*:

I wil not doo litil ne moche herin, *but if* ye save me harmles in the spirituel court ... 46/35.

But that after a temporal expression may mean *until*, *when*, *before*:

ye shal not longe tarye *but that ye* shal catche myes by grete heepis 21/32.

This meaning is not very frequent in the language. Here is an instance from Bunyan's Pilgr. Progr. 103: ‚Now I beheld in my dream that they had not journeyed far *but* the river and the way for a time parted'.

The transition between the coordinative and subordinative sense of *but* may be observed in: ‚I shal not reste nyght ne days but ronne and praye' 93/31. The clause introduced by *but* is equivalent to a Noun-clause, or to an Infinitive in:

Ther was apoynted ... that he *lefte* not for ony cause. *But* he cam in to the kynges court 11/25.

Without: „... to doo what he wolde *wythout* he shold be blamed' 119/5.

So that = provided:

They retche not whos(e) hows brenneth *so that* they may warme them by the coles 78/25.

(*) There is a similar ellipsis in a passage of Wycliffe (Mark XI, 13), — whereas the corresponding passage of Tyndale, as well as of the A. S. Gospels show the full construction: Wycliffe (1389): And whanne he hadde seyn a fyge tree afer havynge leevys *he cam if happily he schulde fynde ony thing therynne*. — *Tyndale* (1526) ... and *wente to see whether* he myght fynde eny thinge there on. — *Anglo-Saxon* (995) ... *he cóm and sóhte hwaeper* he þar on aht funde.

Than = but: ‚herof knoweth noman than me' 71/30.

CONJUNCTIONS DENOTING MANNER, COMPARISON.

Lyke, lyke as:

hys eyen stared and his tonge henge longe out of his mouth *lyke an hound had ben deed,* 55/23 (Dutch: als een hont die doot ware 71,10).

We are inclined to supply a Relative after *hound* as in the Dutch. Nevertheless it is probable that we must regard *lyke* as a Conjunction = *lyke as* which we find in: he drough is breth *lyke as* one sholde have deyde 17/17, and that *as* in this connection must be explained like the ‚as' of ‚as who says', viz. as having the pregnant sense of *as if.* Instances of *lyke as* in this sense are:

ffor suche be so woo *lyke as* they had loste theyr Inwytte 68/24. — ... pylle the peple and eten them *lyke as* they were forhongred houndes 114/18.

CONJUNCTIONS DENOTING PURPOSE.

to the entente that: ‚not *to th(e) entente that* men shold use them' ... 4/11.

The same expression still occurs in XVIIth century English (Franz, *op. cit.*). — *Entente,* as a Substantive = intention, 91/8. — (Cf. Bacon: ‚with an intent in man to give law unto himself': Advanct. of Learning 6, 3. — *Clar. Pr. ed.*).

Because = so that, in order that:

I have buryed myn owen fader *by cause* the kynge sholde have his lyf, my lorde saide the foxe, where ben they that so wolde doo, that is to destroye them self for to kepe yow, 39/40.

The oldest instance quoted in *N. E. Diction.*, is from Caxton's *Paris.* The *Dictionary* adds that the same use is still frequent in dialects.

ORDER OF WORDS.

It is in the order of words that Caxton perhaps most deeply and most constantly varies from the present use, so that to bring these differences under definite heads is to explain no small bulk of the peculiarities of language that strike the reader unaccustomed to M. E. prose literature.

The settled position of the terms of the sentence (1) Subject, (2) Predicate (Verb), (3) Object, is a consequence of the decay of case-endings. The greater freedom which reigns in our text is found in all the works of the period. It is not restricted to Middle English but occurs as well in Old and Middle French: ‚la misericorde (Object) perdit assi (ainsi) *li* hom'. (Subject) (Serm. de St. Bernard 148). Similar changes in the fundamental constitution of the language effected a similar evolution in the outward arrangement of words.

We shall examine (1) the relative position of Subject and Predicate; (2) the place of the Direct Object; (3) the place of adverbial determinants, including the Indirect Object.

Subject and Predicate.

The inversion of the Subject after the Predicate occurs chiefly when some other word is put at the head of the sentence. Kellner indicate the inversion after *and* (Kellner CI, § 43,2). In *Reynard*, it is much more frequent after such adverbial particles as *tho*, *thenne*, *now*, *thus*, *so* which play the part of coordinate conjunctions. ‚Tho spack he', ‚said he' are

phrases of continual recurrence. These generally render the Du. ‚doe seide hi' but it must be noticed that Caxton has a predilection for connective particles and often uses them where they are omitted in the Du. text:

Then spak Panter 6/32 (Du. Panther die sprak); — tho spack Reynard 15/20 (Du. Reyn. sprak).

Instances where, according to the modern rule, the Subject precedes the Predicate, are exceptional. Here again the Adverb *tho*, *there*, may or may not be found in Dutch:

and Chaunteclere tho seyde 9/31 (Du. Ende Chant. die seide); *Brun tho spack* 13/19 (Bruin die sprack); *Reynard saide thenne* 14/13 (Reyn. die sprac); *thenne the kynge saide* 19/15 (Lioen die conine seide); *then he ran* (In Du. with Adv. and inversion: *soe ontliep hi*).

The inversion of the Subject also occurs after *there* and Demonstrative Adverbs formed with *there*, *here*, as well as after Relative Adverbs such as *whereof*, *wherin*, (= of this, in this):

Ther recyvid tybert many a grete stroke 22/26; ther muste Reyn. fynde . . . the meanes 24/37; there fonde he tubbes 26/24; *herof* laughed Reynard 14/7; *therefore* wylle I go to rome 43/29; — *whereof* is muche harme comen 10/29; *wherupon* was a day sette 6/3; — also after Preposition + which: they brought forth the booke *on whiche sware the wulf* that the foxe was a traytour 105/4.

After other Adverbs and Adverbial locutions:

nevertheless yet was I 34/21; *In lyke wyse dyde* ye 8/2; *at laste* cam he 10/13; *thenne* were I out of my wittes (‚thenne' here = ‚in this case') 40/10; *wyth these wordes* arose the preest 22/29. *Now two yeres passid* cam a man . . . into this courte 75/12; *And in alle my lande* shal ye be above alle other 116/7; *In a sorowful countenance* spak the foxe to the quene 35/33.

The inversion is also found after a whole adverbial clause:

Whiles they thus spack sprange up bellyn the rame 30/39; *ryght as the cony had made an ende of his complaint* cam in corbant the roek &c. 55/17.

The word or phrase placed at the head of the sentence, and which causes the inversion, need not be adverbial, it may be the Object of the sentence: *the first complaynt* made Isegrym the wulf on Reynart 5/22; *this* sawe . . . the asse 86/18.

But the inversion of *the* Subject in this case is no absolute rule: ‚nevertheles *this she saide*' 46/18.

The Old French use is nearly parallel to this. Thus, in Froissart, we find: ‚*Et* estait envoiiés en France li dis cardinaulz . . .' IV, 123,2 ‚*Lors* commencièrent li arcier l'un à l'autre traire' IV, 23,7; ‚*Puis* corna li dis menires Guillaume Douglas un cor' II, 52,30; *Si* passèrent li dis contes de Tankeville et li mareschaus le mer et arrivérent à Boulougne' V, 179,29. (*Riese*, Etude syntactique sur la langue de Froissart, p. 3).

In Old English we find both the inversion of the Subject: *þá* waes Matheus . . comen (Andr., 41); — *þá* cwaedon þá englas (Gen., 19,12). — *Hér* for se here to Lundenburig (A. S. Chron. 72); *þy ilcan geare* slogon East Engle Beornvulf (d°. 823); and the other construction: *nu* ic eow sende (Math. 10,16); *þá* se halga hêht . . . (Caedmon 2034). *Oft* ic sceal viþ vaege vinnan (Cod. Exon. 398, I) &c.

Direct Object.

The inversion of the Direct Object is found with Nouns and Pronouns, in principal and in dependent clauses. I tried to gather such instances where the inversion is not rhetorical, viz. where it is not used for the sake of special emphasis, as it can still be now. It will be noted that where Auxiliaries are

included, the inverted Object is inserted between the Auxiliary and the Infinitive or Participle:

al *had* he *cortoys hanged* whan he fonde hym with menowr, he had not moche mysdon ne trespaced 8/34; whan he *had ony proye brought* home 12/27; she *hath* the *rys do blosom* 80/23; ye *have* there *two morderars arestyd* 47/38; — he *hath us alle* begyled 57/37; I *had al* forgoten 29/1; they *have* you *nothing coste* 100/29. — If you *would al thing oversee* wel 92/36; we *wyl none* otherwyse *sende* for hym 58/5; — they swere ... that he *coude none gete* of them 10/6; ha reynart how wel *can* ye *your falacye and salutacion doon* 67/10; — a man *shal* love his frende by mesure and not *his enemye hate* over moche 75/5.

See especially on the before-putting of *this*, *that*, the chapter on the Demonstrative Pronoun.

The inversion of the Object is old, see Mätzner II, 599, al. 3. It seems to have been especially frequent in clauses before Past Pples and Infinitives. For the special construction with auxiliaries, see ibid. al. 10, 11.

As regards Auxiliary Verbs, we may note here that they sometimes *follow* the verb they govern:

I wote wel yf ye wolde ye myght now slee me, but and ye so *don had* what had ye wonne 110/2. (Not Du: ... ghi mocht mi wel doden mer wat laghe u daer aen 145,12. — Tho muste I doo that I not *doo wold* gladly 109/18 (Not so in Du: Doe moeste ic doen dat ic node dede 144,11).

What we have said of the place of the Subject and of the Object with Auxiliaries also applies to the Predicate connected with *to be* or analogous verbs (e. g. become):

Yet said he to me ... that he *was a cloysterer ... be comen* 10/18 Cf. Kellner, CIII, § 44. — Dere lorde remembre not ye whan my lord your fadre and ye *an Jongling of two yere were* 89/37; — ye be *so wyse called*, helpe your self, ffor ye have nede 87/33.

PLACE OF ADVERBIAL ADJUNTS.

The Adverb in Caxton as a rule precedes the Predicate. Often it is inserted between Verb and Subject. This still occurs to-day, especially with modal and temporal Adverbs. In Caxton this use is more general and adplies to adverbial locutions, prepositional complements, gerundial expressions (,as fer as they *in redynge or heeryng of it* shal mowe understande... 4/9). The adverb may also precede both Verb and Subject. In this case it generally occasions inversion of the Subject (see *above*). But instances of a different word-order occur:

Alway I prayd god that he wolde kepe our kyng in worship... 38/14; — I dowed the cony bytwene his eerys that *almost* I benamme his lyf from hym 61/35; — especially with *also:* also I have trespaced gretly ayenst chanteclere 26/5; *also* I have bydryven wyth dame erswynde his wyf 27/38. — And *also* he swange his tayl wyth pysse ofte under his eyen 107/19.

When auxiliaries are used these may be separated from the Verb they govern, by some complex Adverbial locution:

a man shal not *wyth ones over redyng* fynde the ryght understandyng 4/18; he muste *ofte and many tymes* rede in this booke 4/16; he is *in murdre and treson* al by wrapped 94/14.

On the other hand, in cases where we might insert the Adverb between Verb and Auxiliary, in Caxton, it precedes either:

I crye out harowe on them that so *falsely* have belyed me 66/33; I have gyven to you many a good counseyl... and *in nede alway* have byden by yow 67/27; ye have stolen many a lambe and now *falsely* have appeled me 106/12.

In the case of two Auxiliaries with an Active Verb, where the Adverb must, in present English, fall be-

tween them, Caxton sometimes has a different construction:

I *shold* not *conne wel* go thyder 13/7 (Not Du: dat ik niet wel en sal mogen gaen 17,6). Contra: ye shold not *thenne wel* conne go . . . 15/22.

The complement in the analytic Dative is often placed before the Predicate:

I shall be *to you* a trewe frende 13/22 . . . If ye wille be *to me* . . . helpyng 14/2; hit is *to her* grete shame 28/1; he was alway to hem unmercyful 37/35; thaugh it be *to me* vylonye and shame 43/8 . . . whiche was *to yow and youres* right doubteful 75/14: as ferre as he be of as good birthe as i am and *to me* lyke 71/19; and this by right ought *to noman* be warned 80/9; this market came *to hym* evil 16/5.

When there is a Direct Object, the Indirect Object generally precedes it:

he had done *to you* no good servise 12/37; thys dyde *to the bere* more harme than al the other 16/18; thise wroughten *to the bere* so moche harme 16/23; he gaf *to hymself* better hope . . . 20/7. The kynge and the quene . . . toke *to them* reynart 40/5 who can gyve *to this lesynge* a conclusion 65/12.

The Instrumental complement of Passive Verbs is often inserted:

ofte *by hym or them* deceyvid 81/25 . . . my copye whiche was in dutsche and *by me* William Caxton translated, &c. 120/8.

And *wyth lesynges* am put out of your grace 66/30; *wyth false lyes* thus to be deceyvyd 94/13.

Instances with *wyth* in the Active:

wyth suche flateryng wordes hath reynart thise two flatred 48/16. I hope *wyth subtylte* to begyle hym 50/17, that they *wyth their counseyl* . . . helpe me 56/35.

Causal complement:

ye wold not that a man shold *for* his gentilnes and kyndenes be Iuged to deth 77/8; my nevew was *of wyne* almost dronke 37/15.

Modal, local and various other circumstancial complements:

that tyme was he *above alle other* bylevyd and herde in the court 77/16 (he) is moche greet and *above his neighbours* hath power and myght 91/5; the first that *on us* complayned 48/38; though the kynge and many one be *upon me* angry 33/25; — ye shal have *of the kynge* grete thanke therfore 51/17.

Instances of inverted analytic Genitive:

I slewe *of them* tweyne 34/29; they be *of theyr age* the fairest that ever I sawe 98/34.

Compound Adverbs formed with Prepositions may of course also be inverted:

we tasted and felte his bely but we fonde *theron* no lyf 55/24; *therwyth* 32/10 *therin* 63/23.

Other Adverbs:

fast bounden 45/2; *fast* shette 12/13; he shal brynge forth *so* hys maters that it shal be supposed for trouthe 35/32; The foxe promysed that he wold *so* doo 28/27; I am glad that I see *now* hym here 94/16.

For cases of inversion of the adverb in O. E. cf. Mätzner, III, 606, &c. Note the place of the negation in:

He thanketh *not* me of the kyndnes I dyde to hym... 88/36. The construction is unusual s. Mätzn. III, 612. (Du: hi en dancte mi des doget niet 116,22).

In interrogations, the negative particle precedes the inverted Subject:

remembre *not* you 89/36; art *not* thou pryamus sone 84/6 (Cf. Chaucer: *ne* hereth *nought* thou what the carter saith? Mätzner III, 136).

The rule according to which Adverbs, as well as other qualifying words, must be placed as near as possible to those which they qualify, is often sinned against in our text. The Adverb separated from the word it refers to may either precede or follow it:

I saide ye *ynowh* come nere 68/34; And *so* I counseyle

every man to *doo* 118/32; suche mete . . . as we *gladly* wold not ete 13/16; and *almost* he had loste his one ere 101/4.

Tho *spack* Grymbart the dasse and was Reynarts suster sone *with an angrey moed* 7/23-24.

Order of Words in ‚contracted Sentences'.

When a word stands in the same relation towards several other words, it is in Modern English expressed but once. This economy of expression is called by Kellner ‚Contraction' (*Outlines*, 300 &c., *Introd. to Blanch.* cviii). Thus, instead of saying, ‚the father came and the son came', we say, (the father and the son) *came*. In Caxton, the usual arrangement in such cases is, ‚the father came and the son', viz., the order of words is the same as if the full construction were used. It remains dubious whether this really is a transition between the present construction and ‚the repetition used in primitive tribes' (Kellner). The fact is that in O. E. we find not the ‚primitive repetition' but exactly the same arrangement as in Caxton. Should we rather not compare the peculiarity to such as ‚the kinges sune Henri' = (King Henry's) son, and attribute it to a certain want of synthetic capacity, according to which an idea was not grasped and expressed at once in its entirety, but was completed by way of addition or ‚after-correction', a process which also accounts for many anacoluthiae.

There are various species of contraction:

Two attributes and one Noun:

I have . . . gyven to you many *a good counseyl and prouffytable* 67/26; he wynneth in *the spyrituel lawe and temporal* also 65/1.

Two Verbs for one Subject; this is a frequent case of which some instances have already been given as cases of omission of the Personal Pronoun:

yet *spak he and said* 32/33; thenne *departed he thens and ran* to the village ward 38/34; how *tremble you and quake* so 42/15; Thenne *was I* glad and mery *and* also *toke* none heed 10/27; therin *dwelleth he and hunteth* no more 9/7; Alas there *ravysshyd he and forcyd* my wyf 94/34.

We find, on the contrary, the repetition, with ‚chiasm' in:

See Eme *thus come I* in the wordes *and I am* leyde in the blame 69/15;

One Predicate for two Subjects:

Whan the vigilye was don and the commendacion 11/14; *That shal he dere abye and alle his lynage* 40/32;

One Object for two Verbs:

there shal none *areste you ne holde* 60/8; *loosed hym and unbonde* 77/24; *he gaf* you *no more proffred* you 92/4. — Ye may *siede me or roste* hange or make me blynde 30/34.

The last instance shows that the modern word-order also occurs:

he shal thynke how he may *begyle deceyve and bringe yow* to some mockerye 11/82; I have taken it fro a fowler, *take and ete it* 104/22;

One adverbial determinant for two Verbs:

I herde hym *crye sore and howle* 100/41 *he promysed to Cuwaert and said* 42/29.

One Infinitive governed by two Auxiliaries:

here what *I shal say and must* needs.

Contraction is sometimes found together with anacoluthia. One term of the Sentence, say, an Adverb is used as if referring to two other terms, — with one of which its sense *cannot* agree:

I hope and knowe you bothe my lorde and my lady for so wyse and directe, that ye be not *ledde* nor *bileve* such lesyngis ne false talis *out of the right waye* 66/35.

STYLE.

Style will only be considered here as far as it is connected with Syntax, that is to say from the point of view of Logic.

The absence of sharp delineation between distinct ideas, of discrimination between that which is essential and that which is incidental, the general want of precision and of critical sense displayed in our text is remarkable when contrasted with the higher standard of style represented by poetical works of much earlier date and might induce a reader unacquainted with the literature of the period to believe that Caxton *does not* really represent English prose at the end of the 15th century, and that the writer was hampered by the faithfulness of the translator. (*)

But Prof. Logeman's remarks (in Muller & Logeman's ‚Reynart') teach us what we must think of Caxton's *piety* as a translator. As the author of the said remarks has come to the conclusion that the Du. text he has published *was not* the original of Caxton's Reynard (the true original being lost), — we must perhaps not lay too much stress on the first argument. However it appears that Caxton was not more faithful to his French originals (Kellner, CXII, CXIV). Moreover Dr. Kellner peremptorily shows in a paper on ‚Abwechselung und Tautologie' (Engl. Stud. XX) and in the final chapter of his *Introduction* to *Blanchardyn*, that the two principal features of Caxton's

(*) This is the opinion of Miss O. Richardson, editor of the *Four Sonnes of Aymon*, quoted by Kellner, p. CX, and by Logeman, ‚Reynaert', Inleiding, XLII.

style, tautology and anacoluthia, are not peculiar to our writer but exist to the same extent in the works of Peacock, Malory, and others.

TAUTOLOGY.

Instances of tautological expression have already been given under *Adverb* and *Adverbial Prepositions*. But the most interesting cases are those couples of synonyms which strike us at first perusal (*used and had*, *nede and prouffyte*, *eschewe and kepe hym from*, *joyous playsant* p. 4, *penthecoste and whytsontyde*, *commysion and maundements*, *fawty and gylty*, &c. p. 5, by which often a single Dutch term is rendered, – just as it happens in translations from the French (Kellner, CXIII). This practice appears throughout the M. E. period and even in the first half of the 16th century. It was already in full bloom in Chaucer's *Meliboeus* and may be traced back to the alliterative groups in Beowulf. A detailed study on these ‚doublets' will be found in Dr. Kellner's article already referred to, where they are divided into several categories, – alliterative doublets being left aside. I may add that I came across very few alliterations in Reynard: ‚I shall *thynke* and also *thanke* you 41/5, *free* and *franke* of alle his enemyes 41/2, goo wyth us to the *place* and *pytte* 43/2 are about the only instances I can adduce. It is probable that what seems to us a mere pleonasm was, at the time, a stylistic device and that, as Kellner says, ‚to convey an idea through the medium of as many words as possible was considered a beauty of style'.

In connection with this, I mention the rhetorical repetion of the same word, in the following passage, which stands rather isolated in our text:

And thenne the wulf *departed* as he was wonte to doo, *departed* and toke that on half for hym, &c. 91/37,38 ‚deylde' in Du. expressed but once 120/27). Perhaps the repetition is a mere misprint?

ANACOLUTHIA.

To submit a passage of *Reynard* to logical analysis is often an awkward task and I believe would not have been less so for Caxton himself. The writer, in the middle of a sentence, continually loses sight of the beginning. He seems reluctant to put a stop to a sentence and to start a new one, so, that in many cases, the same member of a phrase, may be connected indifferently with what precedes or what follows; this applies, e. g. to the words *not ones to rede it* in next passage, from the first page of *Reynard*:

Ffor it is sette subtylly, lyke as ye shall see in redyng of it, and not ones to rede it ffor a man shal not wyth ones over redyng fynde the ryght understandyng ne comprise it wel (but oftymes to rede it shal cause it wel to be understand).

By a theory which is ingenious, but which I cannot help thinking paradoxical, Dr. Kellner has tried to reduce tautology and anacoluthia (as well as double genitive, double comparison, double negation) to a common principle viz., the striving after variety: ‚So wie zwei Wörter von mehr oder weniger gleichem Inhalt gerne gebraucht wurden um dem Ausdrucke Fülle und Mannigfaltigkeit zu geben, so wurden zwei mehr oder weniger gleichwertige grammatische Formen und Constructionen verwendet um Abwechslung in die Rede zu bringen'. (Abwechselung und Tautologie, E. Stud. xv, p.p. 1—4).

There certainly *are* tautological anacoluthiae' for which this explanation might be the right one:

It were *agrete shame and not honeste* 18/6; yf he wold have ben *false felle and a lyar* 40/26; yf there were ony ... that wolde be *contrarye or ayenst* this 37/11; alway to mysdo ... that ys *evyl and a devily lyf* 73/32; ffor *the vytailler and he that sorowed for* malperduys was goon his way 25/20;

But what strikes us in the most frequent type of these anacoluthiae, is less the variety of constructions than their mixture, I should almost say their entanglement; and this is rather to be ascribed to slovenliness and want of logical acumen, than to be regarded as a ‚conscious sin.'

In order to realise these features of Caxton's prose the best way is to read a few pages of his work. I shall only quote here two passages which are both short and characteristic:

it was so that in the begynnyng of apryl whan the weder is fayr, as that I as harde, and prowde (bycause of the grete lynage that I am comen of and also hadde) ffor I had viii fayr sones and seven fayr doughters wiche my wyf had hatched and they were alle stronge and fatte and wente in ayerde whiche was walled round a boute ... 9, *in fine* and 10.

(The asse) said to hymself, how may this be and what may my lorde see on his fowle hound, whom I never see doth good ne proffyt, sauf spryngeth on hym and kysseth hym. But me whom men putten to laboure, to bere and drawe, and doo more in a weke than he wyth his xv shold doo in an hole yere and yet sytteth he nevertheless by hym at the table, and there eteth bones flessh and fatte trenchours, and I have nothing but thystles and nettles, and lye on nyghtes on the harde erthe and suffre many ascorn, (I wyl no lenger suffre this) 86/20--28.

The general character of these passages is that principal and subordinate clauses are woven into an intricate knot. A substantive clause may be placed on the same line with a simple noun:

commanded *sylence* to alle the bestls, *and that* they shulde sytte down 43/37;

or be set in parallel with an Adjective:

Dere cosyn ye be right trewe and named right *wyse and that* ye gladly furthre and brynge your lignage in grete worship 99/4,5;

or with an Adverbial Relative Clause:

er I had felowship wyth ryn the hounde (whyche made me escape many a daunger *as he coude wel tell* yf he were here *and that I never I my dayes trespaced* agenst the kynge 42/32;

or with an Infinitive:

ther muste be two or thre atte leste to gydre *and that they understande* the right and lawe 76/9. I pray yow *to have pite* of me *and that* ye wyl punysshe this false traytour and morderar 55/10.

Direct speech may interrupt an indirect one; the next instance, with an Imperative, is striking:

Reynart saide *that wiste he wel,* now herke dere cosyn what I shal saye 25/33.

We may explain in a similar way the passages hereafter, where an Object-clause depending on ‚pray' is followed by an independent sentence:

And prayd the man *that he wolde helpe* hym out of the snare *or ellis he muste there dye* 75/20; — Parys herde this venus whiche presented hym this grete loye and fair lady and prayd her *to name* this fayr lady that was so fair and *where she was* 84/18.

I lastly mention a remarkable case where a positive sentence is coordinated with an interrogative one:

Art not thou pryamus sone and hector is thy brother whiche have al asyl under their power 84/6. (In Du., we find one interrogative sentence. Is priamus dyn vader niet ende hector dyn broeder die alle dit land... bedwonghen hebben 110,5).

The last instance is interesting also as regards *Concord,*

viz. the logical agreement of the Verb with the Subject, in Person and Number. Here the Verb of the Relative Clause is in the 3rd Person (as proved by the use of the Pron. *their*) although one of the Subjects referred to, that of the first principal sentence, is in the 2d Person, and although this is recalled in the other principal sentence by the Pronoun *thy*.

Agreement in Number is not strictly observed by Caxton. This cannot be proved by instances in the 3d Person, as Caxton still uses here and there the Southern plural ending *-th*, which is identical with that of the 3rd Pers. sing. (Römstedt p. 46). But such instances as the following are unmistakeable:

The rulers and kepars of the felde *was* the lupaerd and the losse 105/2; thenne *goth* (singular, vid. Römstedt, p. 50) worship and prouffyt al to nought 89/3.

CONCRETE INSTEAD OF ABSTRACT EXPRESSION.

Such a sentence as ‚I shal name *these jewels what they were*' is more concrete than the present ‚I shall name what these jewels were'. I have treated of these cases when explaining the formation of adverbial and substantive clauses (see Conjunction *that* and Demonstrative Pronoun *that*).

Synthetical or Analytic style?

I use the words as I should say ‚coordination or subordination', ‚parataxis or hypotaxis'. The same principle which in synthetical tongues produces flection, by which an object and its relation are expressed in a single word, gives rise, in style, to the ‚period' where several ideas are united into one system. Thus Modern English and French style is analytic, while Modern German style is partly synthetical. The position of Caxton, in this respect, is a curious one. We have studied, in the chapter on Relative Pronouns, his use of relative subordination instead of demonstrative coordination. But although Caxton is fond of subordinating logically coordinate sentences by means of *which*, *wherof*, *wherefore*, this is but the outward apparel of synthetical style; our preceding paragraph on anacoluthiae plainly shows that Caxton had none of the mind of classical writers and was hardly capable of ‚organizing' a period.

On the other hand, our author sometimes shows a preference for coordinate sentences. The Conjunction *and* plays a prominent part in his style and we have seen, when treating of this Conjunction, that Caxton even uses it where we should prefer the relative construction. His prose teems with *tho, thenne*, *thus*, *now*, *therof*, *therefore* which are often *not found* in the Du. text. (See *Order of Words*). Caxton does not know the difficult art of inward transition, by which each small sentence seems to be brought forth by the preceding and again, to originate the next.

To term his style' ,analytic' in the passages I am thinking of, would be doing too much honour to it, (*) Caxton has so little of analytic power that he often attaches as much importance to a parenthesis as to the principal idea (Remember, our first example of anacoluthia, above).

(*) E. g.: *Tho* wente reynard thens saying his Credo and leyde hym under an hawthorne. *Thenne* was I glad and mery, *and* also toke none hede *and* wente to my chyldren *and* clucked hem together *and* wente wythout the wal for to walke 10. al. 3.

THE END.

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